Collector's Edition

Organiser

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Revisiting Ambedkar

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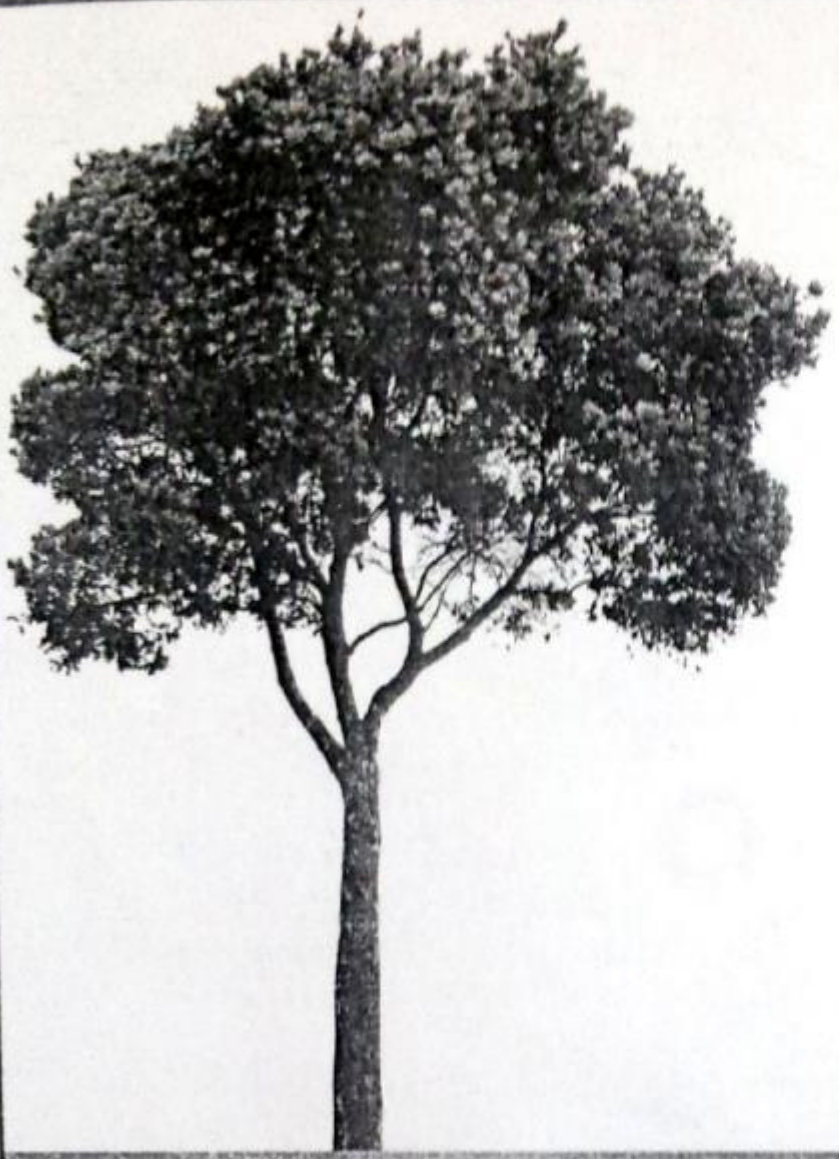

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Preface

In the post independent period, the nature of electoral politics divided our all national leaders and social reformers on caste, regional and religious lines. But the most divisive opinion is perhaps visible about one leader is that is Bharatratna Dr Babasaheb B R Ambedkar. From his followers who regarded him as equivalent to God to his vehement critiques who considered him anti-national, nobody could garner the range of contributions made by this great son of India.

Babasaheb was a great social reformer, voice of the voiceless, excellent scholar, pragmatic leader, eminent economist, enlightened religious thinker, elucidatory orator, fiery journalist and writer, judicious lawyer and constitutional expert, lifelong fighter, futurist planner, prophetic educationist, visionary strategic and foreign policy intellectual and above all man with impeccable character and nationalist convictions. These superhuman efforts and much more makes Dr Ambedkar an inspiration for all Indians from all walks of life.

This collector's edition is an attempt by *Organiser* to throw a light on unexplored dimensions of his life and contributions. We hope that this edition would do some justice to the gigantic personality of Dr Ambedkar. We believe that readers will welcome this initiative and use this issue as a reference for generations to come. On his birth anniversary, our heartfelt tribute to this extraordinary son of India.

Bharat Ratna
Nation First
Epoch Maker
Strategic Thinker
Constitution Maker

Revisiting Ambedkar Through Collector's Edition

The Ultimate Purifier

)) Hitesh Shankar

Ambedkar is a great man because every hardship made him stronger by the day. Babasaheb's greatness lay in the fact that despite being subjected to immense amount of insults, he was not bitter.

मैं एक बिन्दु, परिपूर्ण सिन्धु
ये मेरा हिन्दू समाज,
मैं तो समिष्ट के लिए
व्यष्टि का कर सकता बलिदान अभय
(I am just a drop of complete Ocean called Hindu society,
I can fearlessly sacrifice my 'self', for the sake of this larger body)

These lines by the first Editor of Panchjanya and former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee perfectly fit the personality of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar.

Some people may be quick to take umbrage, raise objections and even try to create a controversy. They could even accuse him of trying to create social differences.

But wait... Dr Ambedkar's life was actually a saga of such ups and downs, agreements and debates. His life was anything but ordinary and smooth. On one hand, he had face insults and abuses throughout his life. On the other, the respect and honor he received during his life was also immense. His persona was sculpted by the extremes, where every hardship made him a better man.

He derived strength from every tough situation he encountered, even from those who hated his guts. The strength of his personality was a gift of the times – the very society of which he was a part.

Ambedkar's strength lay in the trait that every time he was wounded, he got to work with renewed vigor to craft a stronger society. While he openly derided the rot and negativity within the social structure, he stood like a rock to defend and protect the nation's integrity whenever the need arose. That's why he was fondly called 'Babasaheb' – because he guided the society like an experienced elder. He dreamt of India as a balanced society and a strong nation – a dream for which no sacrifice was too big.

The journey from the child 'Bhim' to Dr. Ambedkar to 'Babasaheb' was rough indeed – so rough that a common man would not have survived it. It was no less than a superhuman effort to emerge strong and determined out of the trials and tribulations he had to go through. To understand Dr. Ambedkar's personality, it is necessary to look at the events of his life in the right perspective.

A little boy wants to play with other

Dr Ambedkar delivering speech

Courtesy: Kuljeet Singh Chahal, Chairman, Keshav Vidya Mandir School, New Delhi 110092

children of his age. But he is denied this simple pleasure when his mother picks him up and tells him: "You are not just the son of a Subhedar Major but also a Mahar'. This was the first setback of little Bhim's life. How it must have hurt the psyche of the innocent child! Just envision a childhood caught in the stranglehold of a caste-ridden society. He must have lived through a virtual lifetime of tears and agony to learn life's hardest lessons. A child is a child no matter which family he is born into. Why should one child be treated different than others? Such questions can cause upheaval in young minds, because there are no valid answers.

Then, when it's time for school admission, he is told it's possible only on the condition that he sits near the shoes of 'regular' students and teachers. The father feels the insult and shame of the situation, but is helpless. The mother looks on with tears in her eyes. But the child says: "Ma, get the admission done. I'll sit near the shoes and study". This was young Bhim's first answer to the adults who differentiated between one child and another.

Mother Bhima Bai could visualise what Bhim would have to go through. She also realised the potential of her son's intellect. She guided her little boy: "Son, you'll have to put up with a lot of insults and hatred. Don't bother about these things. Don't argue with anyone. You have to complete your studies. Without studying no one can achieve anything. When you attain a status in society, you must change these rotten traditions. This is my wish." (Translated from "Main Ambedkar bol raha hun". Bharat Prakashan)

Mother's wish became Bhim's resolve. He lived the life spelled out for him. He carried to school a sack-cloth to sit on. Sat in the doorway of the classroom, near the shoes. Ate his food, during recess, facing the wall. Put up with taunts and hardships, with his vision firmly fixed on the target. This was his second answer to the society – that the result is more important than any circumstance.

The most heartrending situation the boy faced in his young life was when his mother, who dreamt of educating her son and seeing him attain a high status, breathed her last in the absence of medical care. What the child must have gone through to see his mother lose her life simply because no high-caste doctor (vaidya) was ready to visit the house of 'untouchables'! He must have gone numb, lost his appetite, almost as if very living spirit had left the universe... But he got back on even keel soon. Such was the strength of his character. He was determined that the downtrodden community has to get up and fight the injustices meted out to them. This social disease is bigger than the ailment mother succumbed to, he thought. "I will treat this disease, come what may." This silent resolve was the third answer of this determined boy to the heartless social order.

Ambedkar is a great man because every hardship made him stronger by the day. Babasaheb's greatness lay in the fact that despite being subjected to immense amount of insults, he was not bitter. It's not that he never got angry. He fumed at circumstances, cried when alone, even pulled up and shouted at those who were wrong. He was a human after all. But he was unique because, no matter what the situation, he never abandoned his humaneness. And he never forgot those who were good to him.

Bhim was the son of Ramji Sapkal. So his surname was Sapkal. But the Brahmin headmaster who first gave Bhim access to the temple of education, who noticed his amazing intellect, also lovingly gave him his own surname. Babasaheb kept the name Ambedkar in honour of the man through out his life.

Vadodara's Maharaja Gaikwad also helped this brilliant boy, who was granted a scholarship for higher studies. While serving the estate, he was given the post of Lieutenant too. But when his senior refused to grant him leave to go home to his ailing father, and abused him instead, Bhim did not go running to complain to the Maharaja. He simply left the job and went to look after his father on his death bed. He displayed no bitterness whatsoever, only discipline and Indian values. Later when he met the Maharaja, both displayed the same affection and cooperation as before.

Babasaheb's specialty was that he never let unpleasant circumstances spoil relationships and situations. So, those who want to project Babasaheb as just a rebel and enemy of upper-castes, only end up displaying their own malicious mindset.

Some people try to prove that Babasaheb was merely a revolutionary leader of the time who fought for the untouchables. Such attempts to belittle Babasaheb's all-encompassing vision will always be unsuccessful, only proving the narrow mindset of the person concerned. They do a great injustice to the man who, despite being subjected to the worst kind of social hardships, realised the power of unity and called upon everyone to work for the welfare of the nation. Babasaheb had his priorities clear. It was always 'nation first'. His vision had no place for the divisions of caste, community or religion. Unity was paramount. Nothing could be bigger than the integrity and inde-

Courtesy: Tarun Gupta, President-Seva Bharati, Delhi Prant

pendence of the nation. Dr. Ambedkar put forth these thoughts in a speech in 1949. The topic of this speech was 'Country must be placed before community'.

Social bitterness can only divide and damage the society and the nation – how did Ambedkar imbibe this lesson even after having suffered through a lifetime of insults and abuse! It couldn't have been easy. An ordinary man could not have done it.

When Dr. Ambedkar returned from Columbia University in 1917, Maharaja Gaikwad honored him with the post of defence secretary. But the maharaja's 'high-caste' staff did not deem it worthwhile to go to the railway station to receive him. Even the peon, who belonged to a higher caste, did not hand him the office files, just threw them on his table from a distance. If he asked for water, he was refused point-blank. No one was ready to give him a house on rent. Even if he hid his identity and managed to rent a room, his stuff was thrown out on the road as soon as it was revealed. Such treatment! It was the greatness of this man that he forgave these despicable acts and carried on.

In 1918 when Dr. Ambedkar taught politics and economics at a college is Bombay (now Mumbai), one day he was so thirsty he happened to touch the pot containing drinking water. This simple act created a furore in the college, with everyone shouting that an untouchable has touched and contaminated the water and the vessel should be broken and thrown away.

Brilliance, education, degrees – all in vain!! Whether it was Hindu localities or Parsi community halls or Christian colleges – he encountered the same narrow-mindedness, the same venom. It was super-human indeed, that despite being subjected to so much venom, this man imbibed no ill-will towards anyone.

Ambedkar's balanced responses to all such incidents reflected his greatness, and created a special space for him in the society. His speech of November 25, 1949 is a must read in this context. His words are a revelation of his cultural consciousness and the fact that, though deeply hurt by such behavior, Dr Ambedkar never allowed it to distort or deform his psyche. Dr Ambedkar used the Constituent Assembly platform to shake the national consciousness. His appeal to the nation, his warning is relevant for the nation even today. Through his speech, he presented before the nation its cultural history and the assaults it suffered. He reminded the nation that when Muhammed bin Qasim attacked India from the north-west, Raja Dahir decided to defend the borders. But unfortunately, Raja Dahir lost the battle and Qasim won – only because Dahir's army commander turned out to be traitor. (Refer Bharat Saput Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar)

All these are mere examples to portray the circumstances that sculpted the amazing personality of Dr. Ambedkar. Actually, his entire life was an answer to the toughest questions thrown up by the society of the time.

It is human tendency to take a tit-for-tat approach. Dr Ambedkar was the super-human who rose above this psychology and presented his case in the context of what is right and what is wrong. He was a soldier who never cowed down. When he formed the Bharatiya Scheduled Caste Federation, it was a strategic move. He was convinced that the fight against untouchability and injustice has to be taken to every household. This war could not be fought by going outside the Hindu community. In the legendary Kamgar Maidan meeting, Dr Ambedkar had said that whether you like it or not, the Dalits are a part of the Hindu community only. When we organised satyagrah at Mahad and Nasik, it was with the purpose of pressurising the Hindu community to accept Dalits as equals, he said.

His organisational concepts were also very clear. He wanted consensus on the issue of national judicial system. No matter what he suffered during his lifetime, he worked incessantly to set up a system of social justice so that future generations have a better life. Many thinkers believe that cultural nationalism and Ambedkar's humanism are actually the same.

Ambedkar's greatness reflected in his positive message to the society. Any attempt to portray him as a man who hated the majority and cared for just a select few would be doing him greater injustice than what he suffered in his lifetime. Let us not forget that he not only wanted to vanquish all maladies in the social system, he was also the one who stood like a rock when there was any threat to national integrity and unity. His holistic vision encompassing the entire nation and the challenges it faced during those testing times is nothing short of commendable.

India has always valued the 'tapasya' of great men. Babasaheb Ambedkar's path was never easy. He had to walk down a dark road strewn with thorns of hostility and prejudices, which he crushed with his bare feet and marched on to enlighten the path of future generations. His was a rare journey. It is no mean feat to successfully prioritise social and national welfare over one's own self and leave behind a legacy such as the one Babasaheb has given us. Societyabove self, always – this is Babasaheb's message and his legacy, for us to carry forward.

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(The writer is Editor of Panchjanya Weekly)

Courtesy: Sanjay Garg, Seva Bharti-Delhi Prant

A Realist Vision

Prafulla Ketkar

"They cannot make history who forget history. To bring down the preponderance of the Muslims in the Indian army and to make the army safe, it is wise to let out the hostile element. We will defend our land. Do not be under the false impression that Pakistan would be able to spread its Muslim empire over India. The Hindus will make it lick the dust. I confess I have my quarrel with the caste Hindus over some points. But I take a vow before you that I shall lay down my life in defence of our land." –Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar

Babasaheb was the man who not only was disatisfied was dissatisfied with the direction of Independent India's foreign policy but expressed 'actual anxiety and even worry'.

Foreign policy making is a critical aspect for a newly independent nation and in case of India there are still tendencies to vouch in the name of Nehru as the architect of the Independent India's foreign policy. If somebody had posed the greatest visionary challenge to that foreign policy presumptions right during the Nehruvian period was Dr Ambedkar. Whether it is the policy of non-alignment, policy towards immediate neighbourhood, defence preparedness or the problem of dealing with Islamic countries, Ambedkar provided visionary insights which are relevant even today. No doubt Ambedkar's contribution for ensuring upliftment and dignified life to the downtrodden classes is unparallel in the Indian context. But if foreign policy means to ensure protecting national interest while engaging with other nations, then the vision of Dr Ambedkar provides us with alternative ideas which were counter to the idealist premise of Nehru.

Realist Foundation

Babasaheb was critical of Nehru's policies on many counts. While resigning from his ministry he made the most vehement criticism of Nehru's foreign policy. He not only was dissatisfied with the direction of Independent India's foreign policy but expressed 'actual anxiety and even worry'. He says in his speech "Any one, who has followed the course of our foreign policy and along with it the attitude of other countries towards India, could not fail to realise the sudden change that has taken place in their attitude towards us. On 15th of August, 1947 when we began our life as an independent country, there was no country which wished us ill. Every country in the world was our friend. Today, after four

Babasaheb in Parliament corridor

Courtesy: Sudhir Kumar Jain, Indira Nagar, Kanpur-208026

Babasaheb receiving birthday wishes in 1950

years, all our friends have deserted us. We have no friends left. We have alienated ourselves. We are pursuing a lonely furrow with no one even to second our resolutions in the U.N.O. When I think of our foreign policy, I am reminded of what Bismark and Bernard Shaw have said. Bismark has said that "politics is not a game of realising the ideal. Politics is the game of the possible." Bernard Shaw not very long ago said that good ideals are good but one must not forget that it is often dangerous to be too good. Our foreign policy is in complete opposition to these words of wisdom uttered by two of the world's greatest men." This clearly reflects that Ambedkar was looking for more realist foreign policy based on the foundation of protecting national interest and was of the firm opinion that the idealist policy propounded by Nehru will not yield results.

There are more instances when he criticised the foreign policy of Nehru. He found fallacies in the three props on which independent India's foreign policy was constructed—one was peace; the second was co-existence between Communism and free Democracy, and the third was opposition to SEATO.

While criticising the rhetoric of peace, he believed that in foreign relations use of force is inevitable therefore; India should not neglect the defence preparedness. He said that "the root of evil is not in the use of force but in the misuse of victory." Even during the World War II, he insisted that Britain to prepare Indians for the defence of their own. Speaking to students of Lucknow University in November 1951, he said: "The government's foreign policy failed to make India stronger. Why should not India get a permanent seat in the UN Security Council? Why has the prime minister not tried for it? India must choose between parliamentary democracy and the Communist way of dictatorship and come to a final conclusion".

> "The key note of our (Nehruvian) foreign policy is to solve the problems of other countries and not to solve the problems of our own country."
> —Dr BR Ambedkar
> (Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, Dhanjay Keer Pg. 456)

Favoured Democratic Bloc over Communist

Nehru's tilt towards the communist bloc while pronouncing the policy of non-alignment is well known. Ambedkar believed that it would prove fatal to India in the long run and against the democratic spirit of the Constitution. Referring to communist Russia's expansionist policy, Ambedkar observed: "Here you have a vast country endlessly occupied in destroying other people, absorbing them within its fold on the theory that it is liberating them." He opined that Communism "is like a forest fire; it goes on burning and consuming anything and everything that comes in its way." Countries living in the vicinity of the forest fire stood in danger. Therefore, he believed that the principle of non-alignment is absurd as it is based on the premise that communism and democracy would coexist.

Today, when India's relationship with the US has significantly improved in the post-Cold war period, one has to remember that it was Ambedkar who was suggesting that India should favour democratic bloc than the communist bloc even during the Cold War. About SEATO led by the US, Ambedkar believed that was not an organisation for committing aggression on any country but to prevent Russia and China from making further aggression and occupying any further part of the free world. Nehru's reservations about the US and fear about what Russia would think if India would have joined the SEATO were primary reasons for India's non-alignment policy and not some principled stand. Ambedkar felt that 'natural affinity of democracies' should be the guiding principle of India's foreign policy and also the close Indo-US relations. Ambedkar also expressed the desirability of a league of democracies in Asia and beyond which is in tune with the present policy of 'Look East and Act East'.

Geostrategic Considerations

Babasheb's geostrategic understanding of foreign policy

Courtesy: Singla Sweets, Delhi

was a statesman like. He considered that that in the foreign policy of a country the geographical factor was one of the most important. Each country have to form its own foreign policy based on its geographical location was his firm conviction. While speaking in the Parliament, he drew the attention of the House to the fact that India had been completely encircled on the one side by Pakistan and the other Muslim countries; and on the other side by allowing China to take possession of Lhasa. "The Prime Minister," Ambedkar continued, "has practically helped the Chinese to bring their border down to the Indian border. Looking at all these things it seems to me that it would be an act of levity not to believe that India, if it is not exposed to aggression right now, is exposed to aggression and that aggression might well be committed by people who always are in the habit of committing aggression." The Prime Minister, Ambedkar proceeded, should not depend upon the Panchsheel accepted by Mao and recorded in the Tibet treaty of non-aggression. He added that If Mao had any faith in the Panchsheel, which was the essential part of Buddhist religion, he certainly would treat the Buddhist in his own country in a very different way. "There is no room for Panchsheel" he observed "in politics; and secondly, not in the politics of the Communist country. These cautionary words reflect how visionary he was when it comes to India's China policy."

Assessment of Pakistan and the Islamic World

When the whole world is facing the menace of Islamic terrorism and Pakistan is regarded as the fountainhead of such terrorist activities, it was Ambedkar who had warned of such pan-Islamic brotherhood along with Savarkar.

His book 'Pakistan or the Partition of India' and his resignation speech in the parliament on October 10, 1951 present clear picture about this assessment. His historic book harshly criticises the anti-reformist tendency of the Muslims. It observes that "the dominating influence with the Muslims is not democracy. The predominant interest of Muslims is religion, their politics being essentially clerical. ...To the Muslim, the book states, Islam is a world religion, suitable for all peoples for all times and for all conditions. The brotherhood of Islam is not the universal brotherhood of man. It is the brotherhood of Muslims for Muslims only. For non-Muslims there is nothing but contempt and enmity. The Muslim has allegiance to a nation which is ruled by a Muslim; a land not ruled by a Muslim is his enemy land. The book, therefore, concludes that Islam can never allow a true Muslim to adopt India as his Motherland and regard a Hindu as his kith and kin. The spirit of aggression is a Muslim's natural endowment. He takes advantage of the weakness of the Hindus and follows gangsterism." Does this assessment make Ambedkar anti-Muslim or communal? He described the problem of Islam which was visible even before the partition and warned about the possible consequences.

Islam can never allow a true Muslim to adopt India as his Motherland and regard a Hindu as his kith and kin.

While formulating policy towards Pakistan he says "our quarrel with Pakistan is a part of our foreign policy about which I feel deeply dissatisfied. There are two grounds which have disturbed our relations with Pakistan - one is Kashmir and the other is the condition of our people in East Bengal. I felt that we should be more deeply concerned with East Bengal where the condition of our people seems from all the newspapers intolerable than with Kashmir. Notwithstanding this we have been staking our all on the Kashmir issue. Even then I feel we have been fighting on an unreal issue. The real issue to my mind is not who is right but what is right." On this ground he believed that there should be complete transfer of population of Hindus and Muslims, if the partition takes place.

Thus Ambedkar's vision of foreign policy was problem solving. Democracy and enhancing developmental and strategic options were founding principles of his foreign policy considerations. His understanding of world politics was of a realist and based on pure 'protecting national interest' premise. It is true that due to his commitment as a Labour and Law Minister and drafting of the Indian Constitution consumed much of his energies, therefore he could not pay much attention to the issues pertaining to foreign policy, which he was worried about. Still, the insights he provided about the making of foreign policy and its founding principles are relevant even today. ■

Courtesy: Ashwani Jain, Jain Colony, Delhi-110007

Multifaceted Ambedkar

Dr Ambedkar's entire life is based on the principles propounded by three personalities, Lord Buddha, Sant Kabir and Mahatma Phule. That is why despite being a revolutionary he did not compromise on core values of this land.

Dr Krishna Gopal

Ambedkar's life was very wide, comprehensive and multifaceted. It is unfortunate for us as a nation that he was never studied and analysed with a holistic approach. Everybody saw some aspect of his life or thinking and formulated their opinion. That is why we find and listen to diverse opinions about Dr Ambedkar. For some he was like a God who arrived for improving their living conditions, while some others consider him a false God and completely negated his teachings. For some he was just a leader of Scheduled Castes while for others he was for the whole society. Gandhi and Ambedkar are regarded as rivals by some while for some there objective was the same. Many Marxists consider him to be a believer in the class struggle while Ambedkar himself had denounced communism and declared himself as the enemy of communists and communism. Some say that he was against Dharm while Ambedkar himself said that he believe in Dharm and without the values of Dharm, society would turn into a place of constant struggle between the jealous and power hungry individuals. Some consider him the strong opponent of caste Hindus and especially Brahmins, on the contrary he never uttered a bad word against any particular community or caste group. He was fighting against certain systems and his fight was against some traditions but he was never against so called high caste people. That is why people from all caste and class groups were part of his struggle. It is true that in the last leg of his life he adopted Buddhism but before that he studied all religions and Dharmic traditions. His understanding of religions and Dharma is not fully explored. His life is massive and wide ranging. Thinking and writing is thorough and well researched, his struggle is unparallel, and its dimensions are also many. I will try to explain some aspects of his life in brief.

Dr Ambedkar with families of his associates

Early Life

A boy whose name was Bheemrao was born in the so called untouchable caste, Mahar in the house of Ramji Sapkal who was a subhedar in army. Youngest among the 14 siblings, Bheemrao's life was very hard working and full of struggles. Still he was the first student from Mahar caste to complete his matriculation. In this success, a constructive role was played by his Brahmin teacher whose surname was Ambedkar. Another teacher Krishna Ji Keluskar presented his a brief biography of Lord Buddha. Ambedkar says he could never forget Keluskar teacher and Lord Gautam Buddha. It was Kuluskar ji who introduced Ambedkar to Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad of Vadodara who gave

Courtesy: Ramswaroop Sharma, MP (Lok Sabha) Mandi, Himachal Pradesh-175001

him a scholarship of Rs 50. He completed his BA from Mumbai University in 1912. Maharaja of Vadodara raised his scholarship to Rs 75. He also served in the Vadodara princely state for some days. There also he faced discrimination and finally returned back to his home.

With the efforts of Keluskar teacher, his monthly scholarship was fixed at 92.5 pounds and he left for Columbia for higher studies. There he did his MA and PhD. Simultaneously he could also managed to study MSc and DSc from London School of Economics. He also completed his Bar at Law there. This was a superhuman task.

He entered the social life only after completing his studies. He was a great social reformer, labour leader, barrister and able political leader. At the same time he is editor of many periodicals, a fiery speaker, an eminent economist, a social anthropologists, a theorist for many social issues, scholars on constitutionalism and architect of the Indian Constitution. If we study carefully he has touched upon all aspects of social life that is why his life has many facets which need to be explored.

Throughout his life he fought for the cause, but there was no enemy. On the lines of Lord Buddha who preaches that no enmity can stop enmity, he never desisted from basic values of equality and compassion.

> "Economic motive is not the only motive by which man is actuated. That economic power is the only kind of power no student of human society can accept. That religion is the source of power is amply illustrated by the history of this country."

It is true that many incidents of his life have not come in the public domain. Therefore many aspects of his personality are also not known. This happens with many great people. As Dr Johnson says "a human being has tremendous potential but destiny challenges some of his/her virtues and that aspect of personality comes to the forefront. As we are aware, Tilak was a great Mathematician but he could not spare time for that field. Swami Ramteerth and Swami Vivekanand were great students of science and mathematics but there life was dedicated as sanyasis and social reformers. In recent times, Atal Behari Vajpayee has been a creative poet but he could not spare much time for literature. Similarly, Ambedkar showed spark in many areas but his destiny confined him to a particular cause. But to assess him and his contribution we need to study and understand him holistically.

The real Struggle Begins

He came back to Vadodara after completing his studies as per the agreement. He was appointed as the secretary of Vaododara princely state. There also he did not get very fauvorable environment. Even his clerk use to throw files on him, he had to carry his water along. Nobody was ready to play with him at the club. His chair was separate. He did not get even a room to stay. Finally, he took a pseudo name - Aadalji Sorabji to stay in a Parsi Dharmashala (religious sanctuary). Dr Ambedkar writes, "One day, many Parsis came with sticks in their hands and threw my luggage on the road. Many degrees were in hand but they were of no use. I was all alone on the road. No friend was ready to give a space." This insulting treatment wounded his mind badly. This was perhaps the incident when he decided to dedicate his life for social change and human dignity. He fought for the same till the last breathe of his life.

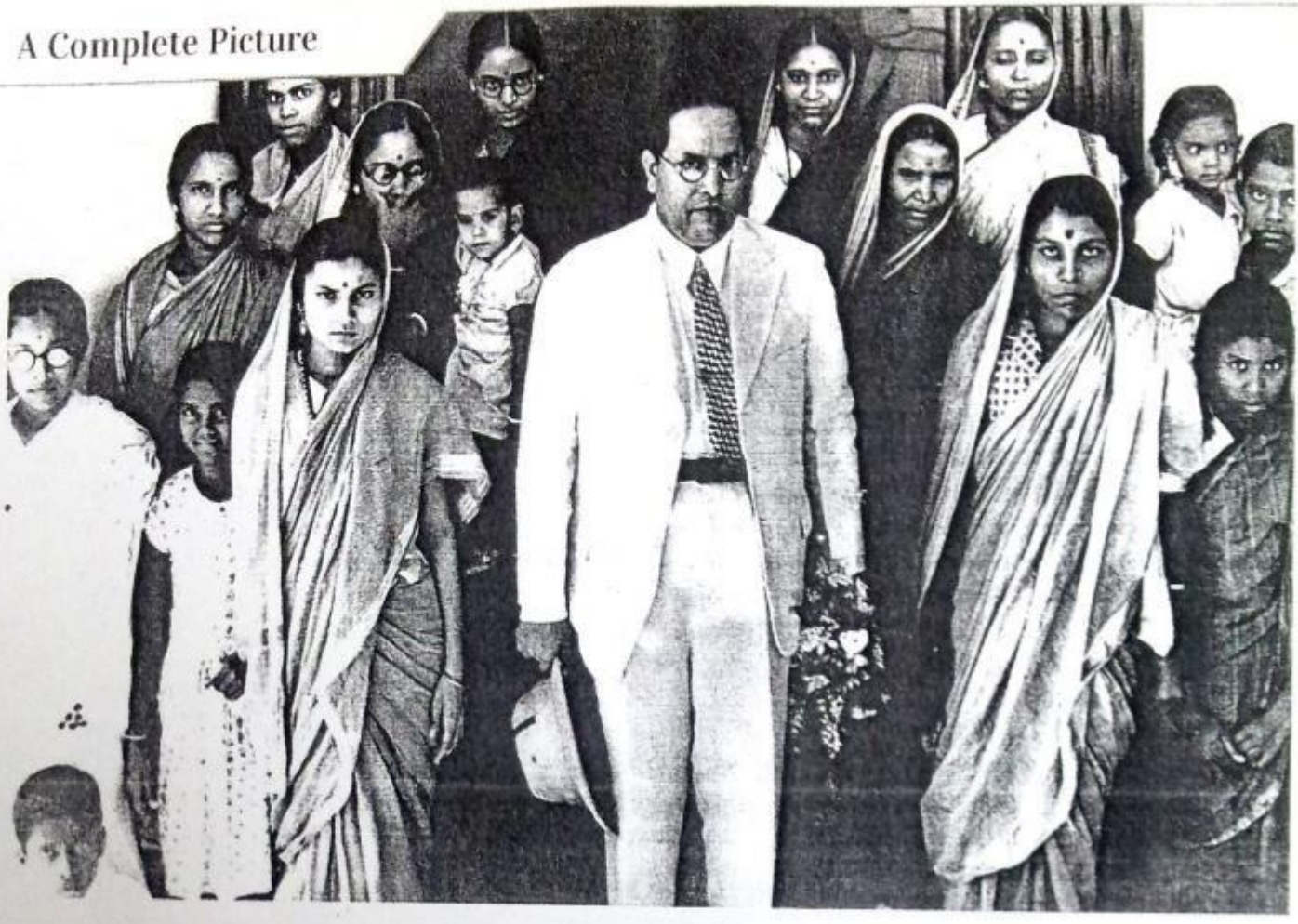
A person who started his school education under street lights ended up pursuing his higher education in Columbia and London School of Economics. He could have stayed back there and amassed wealth for himself. Instead, he decided to dedicate his entire life for social change. He devoted his life to end the discriminatory traditions and norms in the society.

Three Gurus

His entire life is founded on the principles propounded by three personalities. His first Guru was Lord Buddha. Gautam Buddha revolted against the rituals, traditions and inhuman traditions but kept the original principles and values intact. The core of this nation is compassion, integral thinking, loyalty, dedication, and intimacy. Retaining these core values, Lord Buddha discarded the rituals. He restored the original principles of Sanatan Dharma that is also with compassion and concern, not through violent struggle. Thus, Buddha was his first Guru.

His second revolutionary ideal was Kabir. His core thinking is also based on Dharma. Kabir was a Ram devotee. Kabir fights against religious hypocrisy with his scorching words but there is no enmity against anybody. Love and compassion are the basis of his struggle. He gives the message of transformation keeping the Dharma. He is voice of the unvoiced, he gives pride to the downtrodden, he flags issues of the unheard, provide forum to the marginalised, such Kabir is his second Guru.

His third Guru was Mahatma Phule, who intensely



fought against the erroneous interpretations of religious texts, traditions, rituals, hypocrisy and fraud. He was a staunch revolutionary. Society opposed him but he did not budge.

All these Gurus give Ambedkar a vision on which Ambedkar takes his struggle ahead. The soul of Ambedkar's thinking comes from Buddha, Kabir and Phule. Without understanding them one cannot understand Ambedkar.

Contributions to Social Life

Amedkar's personality was radical and revolutionary. He used to say, "I don't believe in any hero worship. Don't worship any individual." He refused to celebrate even his own birthdays. He told his friends and followers, "You have been celebrating my birthdays for the last 15 years, in which I never participated. I always opposed it. There is no need to celebrate such birthdays." He never sought any respect or recognition for his struggle.

He advised his followers that big leader, big parties, no big elections can uplift them. They have to do it themselves. Education, organisation, character building were the means he suggested for transformed life. He said, "You must abolish your slavery yourselves. Do not depend for its abolition upon the God or a superman. Mere numerical majority is not enough in majority. They must be always watchful, strong and self-respecting to attain and maintain success. We must shape our course ourselves and by ourselves." He did not want people to be dependent on any individual. He wanted them to strive for their own upliftment with rigour and strength.

"Where was Ambedkar during the freedom struggle?" Many people ask this question. He says, "I want to attain independence as much as you want, but I have a question in mind, whether my friends and brethren will also get independence or they will remain the slaves." He asked many questions to the Congress leaders on the same lines. On April 26, 1942, while speaking at Mumbai he called upon Congress leaders that I would fight more vehemently for the independence you are fighting for. At least, give me assurance that my people will have their share in power if we attain independence. Thus, for him share of the depressed classes in independent India and ensuring dignified life for them was equally important as freedom from the British rule.

He was a prominent economist. Unfortunately, no university in this country studies his economic theories. His all foreign degrees from Columbia to London School of Economics are in the field of economics. He was addressing the critical questions pertaining to agrarian economy

Courtesy: Shyambala, Municipal Councillor, Baljit Nagar, Delhi-110008

almost 100 years ago. How land ownership is getting fragmented in India? Why small landholdings cannot ensure economic development in this country? He tried to address these questions. Overdependence on agriculture and need for greater industrialisation was his key concern. In 1920s he was saying that industrilisation of India is the soundest remedy for agriculture problems in India. He was giving radical solutions to address the problems of Indian economy. Where are all his theories? There is need to undertake research on economics propounded by Ambedkar.

He gave voice to unvoiced, provided forum to the marginalised. As we can see through his *Mooknayak*, he gave support, direction and identity to the downtrodden masses. He made them aware of their right to organised them, disciplined them and prepared them for the struggle.

We are aware of his satyagrah at Mahad. Legally the lake was open to all. Christians Muslims, caste Hindus everybody was allowed to access the water, except the so-called untouchables. The conservatives purified the water with rituals, beaten up Ambedkar and his followers. Ambedkar rebuts if we would have become Muslims or Christians you would not have stopped us from drinking water. We are Hindus and we want to remain Hindus that is why you are not allowing to us access drinking water? He did the same thing in his Ram Mandir satyagrah at Nasik. He said, "Untouchability is the biggest blot on Hinduism and we will clean it." During his struggle his tone gets sharper. He told his followers that untouchability is not a blot on Hinduism but on our body and we have to clean it. It means that we ourselves will have to fight against this social slavery.

There are many stages in his life. At one point he says that 'Bhagvadgita is my inspiration', he writes 'Jai Bhawani' on his newspaper. He was proud of calling himself a Hindu. At later stage he says if the Hindu society does not want to give us a respect, what can we do? He changed the dimensions of his struggle for social, economic and political reforms.

For him the basis of transformation was Dharm. He was distressed that the youth are apathetic towards Dharm. For him the Dharm is the source of trust and confidence. That is why he was dead against the communist who considered religion as opium of the masses. He was in favour of retaining the core of Dharm but against the hypocrisy and fraud in the name of Dharm.

For him enmity and jealousy can never be the basis of reforms. In this nation, true reform can be done only through Dharm. For him social reforms were more important than political ones. He was well aware of the fact that political reforms will remain on paper if there is no social harmony and sense of brotherhood. He also says, "We need social, economic and political freedom." Even after independence he warned that mere political freedom will be useless if we continue to keep masses in abject poverty.

He had a historical understanding of untouchability. He was convinced that in original religious texts of this country there is no untouchability. There is no such word existing in Vedas, Upanishads, Brahmanyas etc. He says untouchability encrypted Hindu society 12 to 13 hundred years ago. The first instance of untouchability can be seen in the family of Dahir. Dahir lost the war against Islamic aggressors. When the invaders entered his palace, the women of his family said, "they are coming. They are Mlenchas (meaning dirty or bad). They will touch us and we will be impure. We should kill ourselves before they touch us. This is the first reference to untouchability in Indian history.

> **"If Socialists wish to make Socialism a definite reality, then they must recognize that the problem of social reform is fundamental and that for them there is no escape from it. Unless they do so, they cannot achieve their revolution. They will be compelled, to take account of caste after revolution, if not before revolution."**

Opposition to Communism

He has said many things against communists. Early September 1937, he presided over a District Conference of the Depressed classes in Mysore, where he openly declared that there was no possibility of his joining communists. He declared that he was confirmed enemy of the communists, who exploited labourers for their political ends.

He observed that "economic motive is not the only motive by which man is actuated. That economic power is the only kind of power no student of human society can accept. That religion is the source of power is amply illustrated by the history of this country." With these views how one can believe the ongoing attempt by communist to prove him the pioneer of class struggle in India. During 1942 to 1946, he was a Labour Minister in Viceroy's Council. He was the first one to prepare labour policy and labour security scheme. He was the one who propounded

Courtesy: Mukul Garg, Raj Rajeshwari Housing Planners Pvt. Ltd.

that interests of labourers, industrialists and the nation are not antithetical to each other. Since then tripartite dialogue process has started. He proposed many acts and represented in many committees for labour rights. It was Ambedkar who brought legal provisions pertaining to minimum wages, factory act, subsidised food, medical aid and extra payment for overtime for labourers. For the maternity leave of working women he fought tooth and nail in the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

Architect of the Constitution

He entered the Constituent Assembly because of Gandhi Ji. Ambedkar had a difference of opinion with Gandhi. Gandhi asked Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru about who is going to take the responsibility of drafting the Constitution, Nehru's response was we are calling on famous German Constitutionalist Sir Jerry. Gandhi Ji said we do not have anybody of our own in such a vast country who can prepare Constitution for ourselves. Then Gandhi suggested Dr Ambedkar's name for the job.

Courtesy: Manish Aggarwal, Shanti Mohalla, Delhi-110031

We are aware that he was the architect of Constituent Assembly. His approach toward the work and sense of gratitude can be understood from a last paragraph of his last speech in the Constituent Assembly. He says, " I came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to safeguard the interests of he Scheduled Castes. I had not the remotest idea that I would be called upon to undertake more responsible functions. I was therefore greatly surprised when the Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. I was more than surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its Chairman. There were in the Drafting Committee men bigger, better and more competent than myself"

While delivering a speech from All India Radio in 1954 he made a remark which is humourous at the same time painful. He said, "The Hindus wanted the Vedas and they sent for Vyasa, who was not a caste Hindu. The Hindus wanted an Epic and they sent for Valmiki, who was an Untouchable. The Hindus wanted a Constitution, and they sent for me."

In his last speech in the Constituent Assembly on the question of success of the Constitution he says, "However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However had a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. The working of a Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. The Constitution can provide only the organs of State such as the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The factors on which the working of those organs of the State depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics." He further adds, "On 26th January 1950, India will be an independent country (Cheers). What would happen to her independence? Will she maintain her independence or will she lose it again? In the invasion of Sind by Mahommed-Bin-Kasim, the military commanders of King Dahar accepted bribes from the agents of Mahommed-Bin-Kasim and refused to fight on the side of their King. It was Jaichand who invited Mahommed Gohri to invade India and fight against Prithvi Raj and promised him the help of himself and the Solanki Kings. When Shivaji was fighting for the liberation of Hindus, the other Maratha noblemen and the Rajput Kings were fighting the battle on the side of Moghul Emperors. When the British were trying to destroy the Sikh Rulers, Gulab Singh, their principal commander sat silent and did not help to save the Sikh Kingdom. In

1857, when a large part of India had declared a war of independence against the British, the Sikhs stood and watched the event as silent spectators. Will history repeat itself?" This shows his concern for the for the nation. Whether India will lose its independence second time? Whether Indian masses will remain patriotic enough? There are the most perturbing questions for him.

On Linguistic Reorganisation

When the Reorganisation of Indian States was taking place on linguistic basis he said, "What does a linguistic State mean? It can mean one of two things. It can mean that all people speaking one language must be brought under the jurisdiction of one State. It can also mean that people speaking one language may be grouped under many States provided each State has under its jurisdiction people who are speaking one language." He was in favour of the second interpretation. He also insisted on state reoganisation with administrative considerations. He was in favour of nurturing Hindi as the national language. He said, "One language can unite people. ...Culture is conserved by language. Since Indians wish to unite and develop a common culture it is the bounden duty of all Indians to own up Hindi as their language."

For him the basis of transformation was Dharm. He was distressed that the youth are apathetic towards Dharm. For him the Dharm is the source of trust and confidence. That is why he was dead against the communist who considered religion as the opium of the masses.

Foreign Pollicy

On foreign policy he says, "On 15th of August, 1947 when we began our life as an independent country, there was no country which wished us ill. Every country in the world was our friend. Today, after four years, all our friends have deserted us. We have no friends left. We have alienated ourselves.

We are pursuing a lonely furrow with no one even to second our resolutions in the UNO." In one his speeches in the parliament he warns Nehru on his China Policy and said, "the fact that India had been completely encircled on the one side by Pakistan and the other Muslim countries; and on the other side by allowing China to take possession of Lhasa. "The Prime Minister," Ambedkar continued, "has practically helped the Chinese to bring their border down to the Indian border."

Article 370

On the issue of Article 370 he had a discussion with Sheikh Abdullah in which he said, "Ambedkar had reportedly remarked: "Mr Abdullah, you want that India should defend Kashmir, India should develop Kashmir and Kashmiris should have equal rights as the citizens of India, but you don't want India and any citizen of India to have any rights in Kashmir. I am the Law minister of India. I cannot betray the interest of my country." Are the present political parties and leaders aware of his position on Article 370?

On the Aryan Invasion theory, Dr Bheemrao Ambedkar writes with clarity that the Aryan theory propounded by the western scholars did not stand scholarly scrutiny. This theory was based on untruth and illogical findings and was figment of imagination. As regards the Aryan invasion theory he writes that this invasion theory was a special discovery necessitated due to certain inherent concepts of the western world. Who do present sociologists and politicians keep a mum on this issue? Ambedkar says, "Aryan is not a race." In Rigveda there are 33 references of Arya and none of them refer to the race but to virtues or a cult.

Shudras are Aryans

Ambedkar said, "Shudras were Aryans and Kshatriyas is beyond doubt". In the ninth chapter of his book *Who were the Shudras?*, he clearly states that Kings like Ven, Pururva, Nahusha, Nimi and Sudas tortured Brahmins a lot. Brahmins boycotted them and denied the threading ceremony. Eventually they were excluded from all kinds of rituals and education as well. They were denied various rights and eventually their social status deteriorated. Therefore, all shudras are basically kshatriyas and they are of the same race, like other Indians. He further adds that shudras were Aryans, suryavanshis and kshatriyas. Originally there were only three varnas, Brahmin, kshatriya and vaishya. Denying a group some ritual led to the creation of the fouth varna.

When Shivaji was to be coronated same kind of objections were raised about his kshatriya status. On the advice of Swami Ramdas to call upon Gagabhatta, a Brahmin

Courtesy: Kesari Jewellers, Krishan Nagar, Delhi-110051

Dr Ambedkar in his office

scholar from Kashi who established that Shivaji's ancestry goes back to Kshatriyas in Rajasthan. Then only the threading ceremony and coronation could take place. This also shows how customs and tradition get deeply rooted into society.

Ambedkar argues that untouchables from Punjab and Brahmins from United Province (present Uttar Pradesh) have the same nasal index. Similarly, Chamars and Brahmins of Bihar, Chermals and Brahmins of Tamil Nadu have the same nasal index. This shows that in all parts of India nasal index of so-called untouchables and soc called caste Hindus is the same. We find the same gotras (Clans) in all castes and many scientists have accepted that. In other words, we have to understand that all castes in India have the same ancestry.

From the representatives of Pope to emissaries of Nizam, everybody approached him. He was well aware of the fact that embracing Christianity or Islam would put the whole nation in danger. That is why Ambedkar adopted the path which was in tune with the cultural, social and philosophical ethos of India.

The Muslim Problem

Another important problem faced by India is a Muslim problem. Ambedkar did a thorough research on the same and wrote a voluminous book. Our friends should study it as suggestions by Ambedkar paves the way for solving this problem. He warned Congress on Muslim issue that accepting Muslim demands will not lead to any conclusion. With such attitude there cannot be any agreement or equal treatment. When Simon Commission came to India Muslim League demanded for separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency. Amdekar thought this demand to be absurd and opposed it. Unfortunately Congress accepted the demand of separate Sindh which Ambedkar strongly opposed. He also opposed the communal award in 1932. Ambedkar said, "Maulana Azad is a nationalist leader of the Congress. What is he saying? There would be nine Hindu provinces against five Muslim provinces, and whatever treatment Hindus accorded to Muslims in the nine provinces, Muslim would accord the same treatment to Hindus in the five provinces." On communal award he says, "Whether same kind of seats would be awarded to Hindus in Muslim majority areas as they are awarded to Muslims in Hindu majority areas." He was against the separate electorates as he thought them to be encouraging the divisive mindset.

Dr Ambedkar stoutly asked the points on which Hindu-Muslim unity is possible. While setting the historical records straight he says, "These Muslim invasions were not undertaken merely out of lust for loot or conquest. There was another object behind them. The expedition against Sind by Mahommed-Bin-Kasim was of a punitive character and was undertaken to punish Raja Dahir of Sind who had refused to make restitution for the seizure of an Arab ship at Debul, one of the sea-port towns of Sind. But, there is no doubt that striking a blow at the idolatry and polytheism of Hindus and establishing Islam in India was also one of the aims of this expedition." Ambedkar goes into the historical, social, religious, and cultural enmity of Muslims towards Hindus. He also asked whether the Indian Muslims would consider India as there motherland. On partition, he says if it is inevitable then there should be complete transfer of population as in case of Egypt and Bulgaria.

The Conversion issue

On the issue of forcible conversion in Pakistan and Hyderabad state of Nizam he gave a call to Scheduled Caste brethren there. Ambedkar was terribly upset, and he issued a statement denouncing the Pakistan Government. He complained that the Scheduled Castes were not allowed to come to Hindustan and that they were being forcibly converted to Islam. He further said that in the Hyderabad State, too, they were being forcibly converted to Islam in order to increase the strength of the Muslim population in

Courtesy: Ramit Malik, Astrologer, Fountain Chowk, Ludhiana

Dr Ambedkar delivering a speech

the Hyderabad State. Ambedkar further asked the Scheduled Castes in Pakistan and Hyderabad not to succumb to conversion to Islam as an easy way of escape; and to all those who were forcibly converted to Islam he pledged his word that he would see that they were received back into the fold and treated as brethren in the same manner in which they were treated before their conversion.

He vouched to give a shock to the Hindu society. In 1935, he had declared that he was born as a Hindu but will not die as Hindu. He gave a time 21 years to the Hindu society to respond. He was hoping that Hindu society would respond positively. In 1956 he realised that he had less time left in his life. He had also promised Gandhi ji that he would inflict least harm to the society. He would not go against the interest of the nation. Finally, he embraced Buddhism.

From the representatives of Pope to emissaries of Nizam, everybody approached him. He refused everybody. He was well aware of the fact that embracing Christianity or Islam would put the whole nation in danger. That is why he decided to go with the roots of this nation. Dalai Lama considers Hindus and Buddhists as spiritual brothers. On the same line Ambedkar adopted the path which was in tune with the cultural, social and philosophical ethos of India.

Conclusion

Thus, Ambedkar has fearlessly written on many subjects. That was also with scholarly approach and historical experiences. With his horrific experiences of life and denial of respectful life even after acquiring best of the degrees must have hurt him a lot. He also wrote "*Riddles in Hinduism*" with those feelings but did not publish it. It was kept in his cupboard till the last breath of his life. He was well aware of the fact that it was written in reaction and with anger. When the book was published after his Nirvana, many lines are missing. The Editor has written a note that termite has eaten up those pages.

There are many ups and downs in his life. As per the changing situations he changed his opinions as well. But his patriotism and approach of taking everyone along never changed. He adopted Buddhism. He was annoyed with the hypocrisy, fraud, access ritualism, inhuman treatment in Hindu society in the name of religion. At the same time, his fundamental thinking always remained Bharatiya.

Despite of storms throughout his life, his mind remained calm and composed. He opposed Brahminism but had friends among Brahmins. Initially, he was a devout follower of Ram, but later refused to stay in Hindu fold. Originally he was against the separate electorates but later demanded for the same. At the time of Poona Pact he strongly criticises Gandhiji but pays high tributes on his death. During struggle for independence, he appears to be on the margins but mentally he was always there. He writes 'Riddles on Hinduism but does not publish it. Declared not to die as a Hindu but wait for 21 years to take actual action. Always opposed the Congress and its policies but also accepts ministerial post in the Congress Government. All these instances reflect that he was a man of generous heart who fortunately was our national leader.

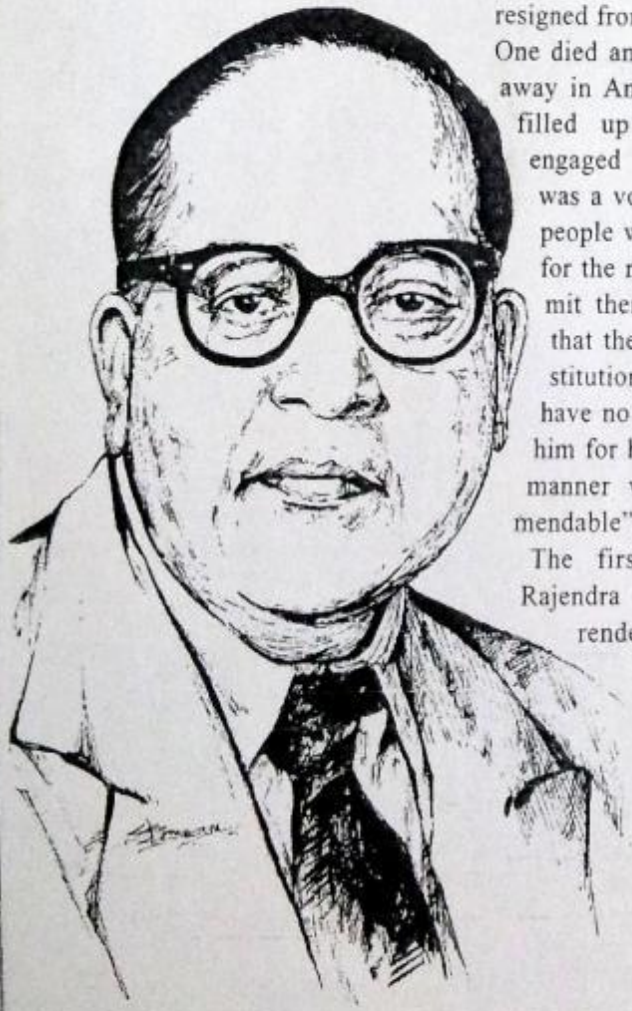
Lastly, I urge everybody, to study Ambedkar objectively and completely. His goal is still not attained. We are still aware of the ground realities in many villages. As early as possible, we should strive for eradicating inequalities, whether social, economic or political. Whole nation should stand up as unitedly against this menace. To take the nation on the pinnacle of glory we should work together as a society with same emotions and thinking. We should walk on the path of Vedic Rishis and Lord Buddha to make India a perfect nation in the world. That's what Ambedkar struggled for. This would be real tribute to him.

(The writer is Sahsarkaryavah, RSS)

Courtesy: Virender Babbar, Municipal Councillor, Pahar Ganj, Delhi-110055

Education for Nation

Ambedkar's style of communication, mastery over language and subject matter, thorough knowledge of the subject made him a popular teacher.



Bhagayya

A scholar of economics, law, sociology, political science and at the same time eminent thinker on religious and cultural issues, highly revered Babasaheb was an exceptional nationalist.

The Constitution Maker

The role of Dr Ambedkar in Constitution making process is well known. While lauding his contribution to the process, senior member of the Constituent Assembly TT Krishnamachari says, "The House is perhaps aware that out of the seven members nominated by you (to the Drafting Committee), one had resigned from the house and was replaced. One died and was not replaced. One was away in America and his place was not filled up and another person was engaged in state of affairs and there was a void to that extent. One or two people were far away from Delhi and for the reasons of Health did not permit them to attend. So it happened that the burden of drafting this constitution fell on Dr Ambedkar and I have no doubt that we are grateful to him for having achieved this task in a manner which is undoubtedly commendable".

The first President of India, Dr Rajendra Prasad, praised the services rendered by Dr Ambedkar in the making of the Constitution and said: "I have carefully watched the day-to-day activities from the presidential seat. Therefore, I appreciate more than others with how much dedication and vitality this task has been carried out by the Drafting Committee and by its chairman Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar in particular." He also said that while performing this huge task, Ambedkar has kept the balance between rights and duties, while taking all aspects of national life into consideration.

Strong Patriotic Zeal

The Constituent Assembly commenced its work on December 9, 1946. On December 11, Dr Rajendra Prasad was elected as the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly. On December 13, Pandit Nehru gave a statement on accession of princely states with British India. In the third paragraph he said, "WHEREIN the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous Units, together with residuary powers and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting there from..." There was a tensed atmosphere in the Constituent Assembly. As everybody wanted to move together as a nation in independent India, they were opposed to give the autonomous status to the princely states. At this juncture, Dr Rajendra Prasad called upon Dr Ambedkar to discuss the matter.

Ambedkar had lost his elections from Mumbai, thanks to Opposition from the Congress. So he was elected from Bengal. Though the functioning of Constituent Assembly was largely confined to the Congress, the party did not have very good terms with the princely states.

As Babasaheb started his speech every-

Courtesy: Rajiv Kharbanda, Smag Retails Pvt. Ltd.

body was speechless with his historical remarks. V N Gadgil who himself was present there considered that speech to be of a greatest nationalist, giving a sense of unity and integrity for the independent nation with a vehement force. He said, "Sir, I have got not the slightest doubt in my mind as to the future evolution and the ultimate shape of the social, political and economic structure of this great country. I know to-day we are divided politically, socially and economically; We are a group of warring camps and I may go even to the extent of confessing that I am probably one of the leaders of such a camp. But, Sir, with all this, I am quite convinced that given time and circumstances nothing in the world will prevent this country from becoming one." In the same speech he asks that Constituent Assembly can pass such resolution but we should think whether it is good for the unity and integrity of the nation.

Impartial and Noble heart

While assessing the functioning of the Constituent Assembly, he open hearted says, "The task of the Drafting Committee would have been a very difficult one if this Constituent Assembly has been merely a motley crowd, a tasseleted pavement without cement, a black stone here and a white stone there is which each member or each group was a law unto itself. There would have been nothing but chaos. This possibility of chaos was reduced to nil by the existence of the Congress Party inside the Assembly which brought into its proceedings a sense of order and discipline... The Congress Party is, therefore, entitled to all the credit for the smooth sailing of the Draft Constitution in the Assembly."

He further adds that the condemnation of the Constitution largely comes from two quarters, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Why do they condemn the Constitution? Is it because it is really a bad Constitution? I venture to say no. The Communist Party want a Constitution based upon the principle of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. They condemn the Constitution because it is based upon parliamentary democracy. The Socialists want two things. The first thing they want is that if they come in power, the Constitution must give them the freedom to nationalise or socialise all private property without payment of compensation. The second thing that the Socialists want is that the Fundamental Rights mentioned in the Constitution must be absolute and without any limitations so that if their Party fails to come into power, they would have the unfettered freedom not merely to criticise, but also to overthrow the State.

These are the main grounds on which the Constitution is being condemned. I do not say that the principle of parliamentary democracy is the only ideal form of political democracy. I do not say that the principle of no acquisition of private property without compensation is so sacrosanct that there can be no departure from it. I do not say that Fundamental Rights can never be absolute and the limitations set upon them can never be lifted. What I do say is that the principles embodied in the Constitution are the views of the present generation or if you think this to be an over-statement.

> **We have the Department of Education, the purpose of which is to moralise and socialise the people. We have on the other hand the Department of Excise which is working, if I may say so, in the reverse direction.**

On the issue of Center State relationship he says. "There can be no doubt that in the opinion of the vast majority of the people, the residual loyalty of the citizen in an emergency must be to the Centre and not to the Constituent States. For it is only the Centre which can work for a common end and for the general interests of the country as a whole. Thus for him, while raising the opposition voices also democratic principles and unity and integrity of the nation should be supreme considerations.

Vision based on History

He was deeply worried about the future of India which was based on his understanding of history. In his last speech in the Constituent Assembly he says – "On 26th January 1950, India will be an independent country (Cheers). What would happen to her independence? Will she maintain her independence or will she lose it again? This is the first thought that comes to my mind. It is not that India was never an independent country. The point is that she once lost the independence she had. Will she lost it a second time? It is this thought which makes me most anxious for the future. What perturbs me greatly is the fact that not only India has once before lost her independence, but she lost it by the infidelity and treachery of some of her own people. In the invasion of Sind by Mahommed-Bin-Kasim, the military commanders of King Dahar accepted bribes from the agents of Mahommed-Bin-Kasim and refused to fight on the side of their King. It was Jaichand who invited Mahommed Gohri to invade India and fight

Courtesy: Yadav Cable Network, President-Akhil Bharatiya Yadav Mahasabha, Dist.- East Delhi

against Prithvi Raj and promised him the help of himself and the Solanki Kings. When Shivaji was fighting for the liberation of Hindus, the other Maratha noblemen and the Rajput Kings were fighting the battle on the side of Moghul Emperors. When the British were trying to destroy the Sikh Rulers, Gulab Singh, their principal commander sat silent and did not help to save the Sikh Kingdom. In 1857, when a large part of India had declared a war of independence against the British, the Sikhs stood and watched the event as silent spectators.

Will history repeat itself? It is this thought which fills me with anxiety. This anxiety is deepened by the realisation of the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of castes and creeds we are going to have many political parties with diverse and opposing political creeds. Will Indian place the country above their creed or will they place creed above country? I do not know. But this much is certain that if the parties place creed above country, our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost forever. This eventuality we must all resolutely guard against." He firmly believed that democracy and independence could be secured only through liberty, equality and fraternity. To ensure liberty and equality fraternity was a precondition for him. As fraternity is the only way through which whole society can be organised and independence can be ensured.

The education in university should be society oriented. It should be scientific and away from prejudice, it should not be limited with the benefit of certain classes in society. He also adds that the aim of education is not only to teach thermos but it should enable to teach them how to develop the personality, to increase their intellectual capacities.

His Contribution to Education

In his first phase of higher eduction, after coming back from Britain, Babasaheb tought economics in Sydenham College at Mumbai. Later he was a professor of Mercantile in a private institution. In 1928, he was appointed as a professor in the Government Law College. Later in 1935, he became the Principal in the same college. In this period he established himself as a multitasking scholar, student friendly teacher and able administrator. His style of communication, mastery over language and subject matter, thorough knowledge of the subject made him a popular teacher. Besides the curriculum, he always insisted on character building of the students. As a principal of the college he made his mark in the functioning of the Mumbai University.

While formally teaching in the college, he was also performing a duty of social educator with his deep understanding of social and political issues. Although the periodicals like Mooknayak, Bahishkrit Bharat and Janata etc he guided thousands of people on critical social issues. He was also instrumental in accelerating the speed of social reforms through organisations like Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha and Samaj Samata Sangh with his guidance and fiery speeches. He laid the foundation of his movement of Dalit emancipation through his satyagrah at Chavdar Lake in Mahad. He delivered intriguing and thought provoking speeches through Mumbai, Delhi, BBC and Voice of America radio stations. He represented the voice of voiceless in many governmental and non-governmental forums. He was doing this while teaching in the college and performing various duties in the national and provincial governments. His role as a public educator is unparallel in this sense.

By laying the foundation of Peoples' Education Society, he opened the doors of higher education in Mumbai and Aurangabad for scheduled caste students. While running this institution he insisted on farsightedness, principled approach and transparency. He was well aware of the fact that when the institution is functioning on social funding financial discipline and meticulous transactions are the keys long term results.

He ensured that the SC students get necessary facilities like hostels, library and laboratories etc. While appointing teachers he gave preference to the qualification rather than caste. Students should get best of the education from best of the people was his vision and he ensured that by practicing the principles he propagated. He presented a model of ideal education centre for the society.

While talking to the teachers he says, teachers should wholeheartedly engage them in teaching and learning, which includes research. According to him, "The education in university should be society oriented. It should be scientific and away from prejudice, it should not be limited with the benefit of certain classes in society. He also adds that the aim of education is not only to teach thermos but it should enable to teach them how to develop the personality, to increase their intellectual capacities..."

He further adds, "We may consider each generation as a distinct nation, with a right, by the will of the majority, to bind themselves, but none to bind the succeeding genera-

Courtesy: Jatinder Kharbanda, Jodharam Trilok Chand, Mandi Kesar Ganj, Ludhiana

tion, more than the inhabitants of another country." Through this Babasaheb presented the essence of true democracy.

Responsibility of Students

As he himself was a professor for many years, he was well aware about the issues pertaining to students. While delivering a speech for students he observed, "Knowledge is the foundation of a man's life and every effort must be made to maintain the intellectual stamina of a student and arouse his intellect". For him education was meant for generating self confidence. He insisted on value education and said that besides knowledge, students should inculcate character, politeness and discipline while studying.

Ambedkar highlighted the limitation of acquiring degree. He was well aware of the fact that university degrees and intellect may not be correlated to each other. He differentiated success in examination and acquiring degrees from being intellectual and well educated.

Like a seasoned teacher he rightly pointed out that in the present education system students lack the in depth knowledge of subject matter, general knowledge, logical thinking, ability to express opinion and clarity of thoughts. While speaking before the students of Siddharth College he said, "Education should develop your mind, vision, thinking ability and problem solving capacity." He had very high expectation from students in solving the national problems and nation building.

Education Policy

Dr Ambedkar did not elaborate his ideas on education policy in a systematic form. But he has made profound remarks at various places. We can assess his ideas on the basis of his writings in various periodicals and the objectives and policies of the institutions he has established. His representations before various social and governmental organisations also depict his ideas on education policy. He has also presented his views in numerous conferences, seminars and speeches delivered in educational institutions. His extensive views can be extracted from his speeches delivered in Bombay Provincial Assembly, Constituent Assembly and Lok Sabha. In his elaborate thinking social disparities in education, its remedies, need of a spread and increase in literacy, primary education, higher education and research, vocational education, technical education were the issues that were dealt with. Some of the important aspects of his thinking on education policy can be summarised as follows:

- Unified Central Policy for Universal Education – Education cannot be considered with fragmented approach. It needs a unified policy. As a continuous process, government should come up with broad policy guidelines for the whole nation but education should be free from access controls of the government or complete monopoly of individuals. Local self government should be kept away from education as their mandate is different.
- Universal Education and Spread of Literacy – We should not presume that once a kid is admitted to the school then s/he is automatically gets literate. Unless the person acquires ability to be literate throughout the life, s/he should not be allowed to drop from primary school or literacy programme. Education is like food which we require throughout the life. Government should take complete responsibility of it.
- Social Disparities in Education – In 1927, he made a statistical presentation on the disparities in primary, secondary and higher education in the Bombay

The backward classes have come to realize that after all education is the greatest material benefit for which they can fight. We may forego material benefits, we may forego material benefits of civilization, but we cannot forego our right and opportunities to reap the benefit of the highest education to the fullest extent. That the importance of this question from the point of view of the backward classes who have just realized that without education their existence is not safe.

- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Courtesy: Vinod Goel, Womax Enterprises, Ludhiana

Provincial Assembly. His conclusions were if 82.5 per cent are illiterates in the Hindu society, the percentage is 98 among the backward castes. The situation is worse in the middle school and higher education level. This disparity is deeply rooted in the social and economic inequalities.

- Remedies – He believed that we should follow the principle of unequal treatment to unequals and provide with some concessions to some classes. There is no alternative to give special status and concessions to the people who are lagging behind. In his opinion mere scholarships would not solve the problems of scheduled caste students, they need to be provided with hostels, study rooms, cultural and centers and all over inspirational social environment for studies. The seeds of reservation policy ensh.:ned in the Indian Constitution can be seen in his speech in the Bombay Assembly.
- Social Transformation –Education paves the way for change and it is continuous process. Babasaheb says, to accelerate the process of transformation, transformative thoughts should be strengthened in social psyche. Only comprehensive and universal education can ensure this. IN real education learning and teaching both are included. The social content of education should never be diluted. Only such society can progress. He does not miss out on the point that the basic purpose of education is socialisation and moralisation, as education is the basis of culture and civilisation.
- Concept of Knowledge – Lord Gautam Buddha's concept of knowledge as enlightenment had attracted Babasaheb a lot. This light of knowledge should be the basis of social, economic and political revolution. Education should have a social context, education is the only way for emancipation from exploitation, and therefore, it is the apt remedy for upliftment of exploited and marginalised class.

It is the movement for self-respect and self-dependence of the downtrodden. His proposition that equitable, value based and moral society is the precondition of democracy and this can be inculcated only though education is a profound one. He had a grave concern about the illiteracy. He use to say that this illiteracy has brought psychological slavery, economic poverty, cultural helplessness and social backwardness into our society. That is why we have lost the power to fight against the external aggressions, was his firm conviction.

Thus, for Babasaheb education was not just a theoretical discussion. Bringing formal education and moral education together was his goal. His philosophy of education was a combination of inclusive idealism and theoretical foundations.

After obtaining BA degree from Mumbai University, he left for America for the higher studies. He did his MA and PhD from Columbia University, and later pursued MSc, DAC, LLD and Bar at Law from prestigious institutions like London School of Economics in England. At every stage, he acquired in depth knowledge and produced scholarly research volumes which were recognised all over the world. After coming back from the US, he concentrated on national problems and wrote many articles and books. Till his Nirvana at the age of 67, he had written 15,000 pages which are documented in 22 volumes.

For Babasaheb Ambedkar, education was not just a theoretical discussion. Bringing formal education and moral education together was his goal. His philosophy of education was a combination of inclusive idealism and theoretical foundations.

His continuous study of new areas was the basis of his intellectual transformation. Even after curtailing his food requirements, he bought more than 35,000 books. Not only that, but all of them are well read and marked with necessary noting in the margins.

When Pt Madan Mohan Malviya asked for those books for the library of Banaras Hindu University at the best quoted price, Ambedkar said "you are asking for my life." If all of us whether followers or critique of Ambedkar, and especially youth follow his zeal for knowledge even some hundredth per cent then also our nation can reach to the pinnacle of the glory.

Education being a two-fold weapon is difficult to operate. Characterless and rude educated man is fiercer than a wild beast. That education of literate man, which is against the welfare of the poor people, is a curse to society. I condemn such educated literate. Character is more important than education.

(The writer is Sahsarkaryavah, RSS)

Courtesy: Aryavart Society, Sanjay Jain-President, Chetan Kumar Prajapati-Gen. Secy.

An Exemplary Leader

Madhubhai Kulkarni

Bharat Ratna Respected Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar's life is ideal guiding and imitable for the youth. Perhaps, his life can inspire people from all walks of life, except politics. This is a matter of pride not only for the scheduled castes but all Indians. After ages, a new era begun with Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Anand was a pet student of the Lord Buddh. When the Lord Buddh gave indications of his Nirvana, Anand asked him a question that – who will guide us after You? Lord Buddh replied – 'Atta Deepo Bhav" ('Be a light unto yourself'). Don't follow anybody, not even me. Try to understand on your own, nobody can be your light. Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar's life is the classic example of 'Be a light unto yourself'. Getting to the roots of any subject was inherent in his nature. He used to work regularly for 16 hours. He learnt Sanskrit to study Vedas and Upanishads. On the basis of deep understanding of Indian society he wrote *Who were the Shudras*? and strongly propounded that Aryans did not come from outside India. He was the one who formulated the Hindu Code Bill single handedly. A list of his select writings is exemplary enough to experience the personality of Be a light unto yourself:

1. Administration and Finance of the East India Company
2. Small Holdings in India and their Remedies
3. The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India
4. The Problem of Rupee: Its Origin and its Solution
5. Castes in India
6. Annihilation of Caste
7. Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables
8. What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables?
9. Who were the Shudras?
10. The Untouchables
11. State and Minorities
12. Mr Russel and Reconstruction of Society
13. Riddles in Hinduism
14. Thoughts on Pakistan
15. Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah
16. Thoughts on Linguistic States
17. The Buddha and his Dhamma

A person's greatness lies in following a single aim in the life. To uplift the people who were marginalised in the name of untouchability, raise them with dignity and provide them with their just rights was his sole mission of life. He was clear when he told Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad that I would like to pursue higher studies in sociology and public finance in a foreign university so that I can understand the way out

> ...Only a religion that is properly understood can uplift the country. An individual should build his character on the basis of principles like knowledge, intellect, compassion, character and affection.

Dr Ambedkar addressing a public meeting

Courtesy: Suresh Gupta, Navin Shahdra, Delhi

to transform the dismal condition of my brethren. I can devote my life for the same cause. The slavery of untouchable castes was absolute. The whole society was entrapped in political, social, economic, cultural, religious and intellectual slavery. The entire class, which constituted more than the combined population of Britain and France, was considered as impure by birth. Dr Ambedkar fought all alone on all the fronts. Whether his satyagrahas, starting of educational institutions, abolition of untouchability through constitutional provisions, finally, collectively embracing Buddhism, everything had the same goal.

His sentiments towards the untouchable brethren were that of a mother. There was no selfish motive or desire of name and fame involved in it. He sacrificed all the material benefits and comforts which he could have acquired staying in a foreign country. Instead, he opted for struggle and insult.

Many stalwart national figures fought against the social evil of untouchability. Mahatma Gandhi, Lokmanya Tilak. Svatantraveer Savarkar, Dr Hedgewar etc contemporary leaders also made their mark on the national life. Though the great people caanot be compared, Dr Ambedkar was outstanding and unique among all those people. While evoking the national consciousness against the colonial rule, he simultaneously invoked that section of society whose life was worse than that of animals. He inspired them to obtain knowledge and lead a dignified life. His arrival on the national stage from the most marginalised section of the society was itself an apoch making event. His contribution of cultivating pride and self-respect among the untouchables is unparallel in enriching national life.

While addressing the workers of the Scheduled Caste Federation he expressed that it is a matter of great satisfaction that the Untouchables have made great strides along all sides. It was my dream to arouse self respect and provide them with their political rights.

Swami Vivekananda says take up one idea. Make that one idea your life—think of it, dream of it, live on that idea. Let the brain, muscles, nerves, every part of your body, be full of that idea, and just leave every other idea alone. This is the way to success, and this is the way great spiritual giants are produced. Others are mere talking machines. Dr Ambedkar's every aspect of life revolves around one purpose as envisaged by Swami Ji.

His thoughts were fearless and confident. In his book on Pakistan he writes that the brotherhood of Islam is not the universal brotherhood of man. It is the brotherhood of Muslims for Muslims only. For non-Muslims there is nothing but contempt and enmity. The Muslim has allegiance to a nation which is ruled by a Muslim; a land not ruled by a Muslim is his enemy land. The book, therefore, concludes that Islam can never allow a true Muslim to adopt India as his Motherland and regard a Hindu as his kith and kin.

He makes significant remarks in the conclusion of his book - *Annihilation of Case*. He says It is impossible and undesirable to reorganise the Hindu society on the basis of Chaturvarnya (Four fold caste hierarchy). Society should be reorganised on the basis of liberty, equality and fraternity. The religious basis of caste discrimination and varnas should be abolished.

In the issue of Bahishkrut Bharat dated September 21, 1928, he writes, Hindus nation is one of the oldest nation evolved in the ancient period. One need not reiterate that. ...but the decay in this ancient nation occurred due to its religious texts. There is an utter lack among the Hindus of what the sociologists call "consciousness of kind". There is no Hindu consciousness of kind. In every Hindu the consciousness that exists is the consciousness of his caste. Until these castes exist, there will not be any organisation and until there is any organisation Hindus will remain weak.

> Three things were essential to making a political party powerful. The first was that its leader must be so great as to be a match for the leaders of other parties. The second essential was a disciplined organization; and the third was a clear-cut programme. These requisites should be fulfilled if Democracy was to succeed in India and to be rescued from the hands of the Tories.

If the leaders propound excellent thoughts but do not have a spotless character, then people do not follow him. That is why Bheemrao Ambedkar gave immense importance to personal character and economic integrity. He says, "If a country does not have national character, its future becomes a question mark. ...Only a religion that is properly understood can uplift the country. An individual should build his character on the basis of principles like knowledge, intellect, compassion, character and affection. Mahatma Phule was such a religious reformer". At other place he clearly stated that his philosophy is not political, but evolved through religion. "I did not learn the principles

Courtesy: Surinder Kapila, Mona Apparels, Ludhiana

of liberty, equality and fraternity from French revolution but from Lord Buddha."

Gratitude towards the people who shaped his personality is another important aspect iof his character. He always remembered people like his primary teacher Ambedkar, secondary teacher Kuluskar, Sayajirao Gaikwad of Vadodra, Chatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, Shivtarak, Prof Irani, Vaidik scholar Devraj Naik etc who supported him in critical times. His regarded that because of inspiration from his primary teacher he could excel in education. His affection and respect him was so much that renouncing his original surname 'Sapkal', he carried the surname given by Ambedkar.

The depth of his meaningful life is difficult to measure. Just because of being from the untouchable caste he had to face insult at every stage of life. Even after being highly educated from a foreign university he did not get a room to stay in Vadodra. Taking these wounds along he decided to fight against the accesses of the so called touchables. This struggle did not end in his lifetime. He use to say that untouchability is a stain on our body and we have to clean it. Instead of opting for Islam or Christianity, he opted for an Indian way out that is embracing Buddhism. Despite of scathing experiences, insult and discriminatory treatment by the conservative society, he never wished for class struggle or violence. His opposition was clear and logical, without any ill feelings or revengeful attitude. His approach in this struggle was spiritual.

He strikes a precautionary note for all the leaders. As you are on the top people tend to hero worship you. Therefore, social unity and national interest should be the prime considerations were his firm conviction. In this sense, he was never a leader of a particular caste but always a national leader.

Political representation should not be at mercy of somebody's will, so he ensured the provisions of reservation in the Constitution itself. But he had a fear that reservation would become a permanent fixture of our national life. Therefore, he made the provision for timely review of the provisions.

Babasaheb was opposed to the nomenclature of Harijan for the untouchables as he believed that it won't abolish untouchability. Today 'Dalit' word is in fashion. Many people have fear that it might stick to the untouchables permanently, thanks to the nature of vote bank politics. In this case, despite of political and economic transformation, social equality will remain a distant dream. Babasaheb's efforts will go in vain.

Many great people and their philosophy was slaughtered by their own followers. Dr Ambedkar himself believed that in the endeavour of abolishing the menace of caste system

You may abuse me as much as possible, provided you do not take much time. I am concerned more with time than with abuse.

- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

many reformers and saints laid their lives. Therefore, everybody should be cautious that a new class of 'Dalits' should not be created within the society. Whether somebody is touchable or untouchable, we should strive for realising Babasaheb's dream of creating harmonious society. This would be real tribute to the great man.

Dr Ambedkar's speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly on November 25, 1949 is the classic example of his strong nationalist leaning, which should become a guiding principle of our national life. He said, "What perturbs me greatly is the fact that India has not only once before lost her independence but she lost it by the infidelity and treachery of her own people. In the invasion of Sindh by Mahommed-Bin-Kasim, the military commanders of King Dahir, accepted bribes from the agents of Mahommed-Bin-Kasim and refused to fight on this side of their king. It was Jaichand who invited Mahomed Ghori to invade India and to fight against Prithviraj. When Shivaji was fighting for the liberation of the Hindus, the other Maratha noblemen and the Rajput kings were fighting battles on the side of the Moghul emperors. Will history repeat itself?" Raising this pertinent question he said "in addition to their old enemies in the form of castes and creeds people had too many parties with diverse opposing creeds. He, therefore, urged the people of India to resolutely guard against the eventuality of parties placing their creed above the country or else "our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost forever. We must be determined to defend our independence till the last drop of our blood."

(The writer is Senior Pracharak, RSS)

Courtesy: Neelam Dhiman, Municipal Councillor, Shastri Nagar and **Rajan Dhiman,** Vice President Chandani Chowk, BJP

Voice of the Voiceless

» J Nandkumar

As a part of Dr Ambedkar's struggle spanning over four decades, he always used print media as one of the instruments to achieve the goal of emancipating the untouchables.

We know Dr Ambedkar as a champion of social justice, framer of the Constitution and also as a great national leader, but his contribution to Indian journalism is never discussed. He entered into journalism accepting it as a powerful medium for building opinion and he made it a part of his endless fight for the uplift of the deprived sections of the society. He treaded this prickly path for 36 years. For him the newspapers were the holy mediums of serving the nation and the society. Dhananjay Keer, who wrote the biography of Babasaheb, while underlining the objectives of starting newspapers by Dr Ambedkar, writes that he adopted the law profession because he deeply felt that if he has to use journalism for betterment of the society he must have separate arrangement to meet the basic needs of life. He was fully aware, rather committed, that newspaper should be published for welfare of the society at large and not for earning money. This commitment is exemplary and highly relevant even today.

Every notable person, who developed a niche in the history, selected a particular profession. The personality of Dr Ambedkar was truly multi-dimensional. He was blessed with an incredible intellect and he contributed almost in every sphere of human life. But all his activities were directed to uplifting the deprived people both socially and politically and also strengthening social harmony. He played an important national role as a member of Constituent Assembly. Explaining the objectives of participating in the activities of the Constituent Assembly Babasaheb said, "In joining the Constituent Assembly I had no other desire but to protect the interests of the Scheduled Castes. I did not know at all that I will be invited to take over any other big responsibility. Therefore, I really wondered when the Assembly elected me for the Drafting Committee. I was more wondered when the Drafting Committee further elected me as Chairman. The Committee had more qualified and better personalities like Sir Alladishna Swamy Iyer. I am highly grateful to the Constituent Assembly and the Drafting Committee for posing so much faith and trust in me and also providing me an opportunity to serve the nation by electing me as their tool." Rest is history.

Dr Ambedkar had the desire to establish harmony in the society since his childhood. He continued his education having the firm pledge in his heart to wash out the blotuntouchability through education. But achieving the objective was not an easy task. Because of his extraordinary intellect he was appointed political secretary to the then King of Vadodra. But the people of upper castes working under him were not ready to follow the instructions of a

Courtesy: Ram Sharan Jindal, Surajmal Vihar, East Delhi-110092

In discussion with Maulana Hasrat Mohani

'Mahar'. He was deeply hurt over it. Having this pain and agony in his heart he returned to Mumbai in 1917. He decided to raise a voice in favour of the voiceless people standing in the last queue of the society. He entered into the field of media with meager resources and started expressing the silent atrocities that he was undergoing. Shahuji Maharaj of Kolhapur in those days was known for having soft corner to the activities aimed at uplifting the deprived people. He extended help and finally on January 31, 1920 the publication of fortnightly newspaper '*Mooknayak*' began. The word 'Mooknayak' itself adequately explained the objective of the publication. The overall content of the newspaper was on that line only. As an editor, Dr Ambedkar never compromised the values of journalism or the style and tone of the news and articles. He regularly wrote editorial and main articles. His public life and journalistic journey began almost simultaneously. Naturally, it made his daily schedule very busy. Even while remaining busy in various social-political activities throughout the day he worked late hours in the newspaper office. It continued for about one year. But he was not satisfied. He suddenly developed the desire to complete his studies that he had left some time back. He had to go to London for the studies but did not have money. But some people who were keeping a watch on this emerging star came forward. Some of his supporters and sympathisers also started collecting funds for him. Finally, he left for London in 1920. But in his absence the work of '*Mooknayak*' suffered hugely.

Men are mortal, so are ideas. An idea needs propagation as a plant needs watering. Otherwise both will wither and die.

After completing the study, Bhimrao Ambedkar became Barrister Ambedkar. He was conferred with the Doctorate in Science. After the studies in London he returned to the motherland and again dedicated himself to the cause of the uplift of the neglected and deprived sections of the society. Babasaheb's systematic public life began with the formation of the Bahiskrita Hitakarini Sabha in 1924. This period has special significance in the political-cultural history of the country. In those days Gandhiji became the undisputed leader of the Congress, leftist movement began and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was also founder in 1925. This was the time when Babasaheb basically entered into social life. He started various movements under the banner of Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha for building social harmony. All his demands had the dream of a strong and harmonious Hindu society. He raised the issue of one well and one temple—same water source for all and entry for all into temples. Naturally, some orthodox people opposed these demands. He was heavily criticised. In order to convey his message to people in those circumstances Ambedkar realised the need of starting a newspaper. Newspaper in a sense in those days was a must for any organisation, which wanted to convey its message and principles to the society. An organisation without a newspaper was like a bird without feathers. Therefore, Ambedkar started '*Bahiskrit Bharat*', a Marathi fortnightly, on April 3, 1927.

While underling the need of a newspaper to support the voice of the voiceless, Ambedkar stressed on the need of originality and objectivity in information. He had extensive agenda behind it. Many social-political reform movements began in the country after 1920. If many of them were not studied or taught to the people in a proper term, they could have been proved highly harmful to the deprived people itself. He felt it necessary to educate the people about the positive and negative consequences of happenings in that period. It was also necessary to keep the government and the masses informed about the problems, pains, opinion and reactions of the deprived people. It was direly needed to reach the masses in their own language and parlance. He used the newspaper as a weapon for meeting

Courtesy: Sanjay Virmani, Delhi

Journalism was never a profession in India. But now it has become a business. It morality remains no more than the soap making. Now it does not recognise itself as a responsible advisor to the public. I am happy to see that some honourable exceptions are still there. But their voice was never heard.

all these objectives. This journey of journalist Ambedkar continued for about four decades.

Dr Ambedkar established Bharat Bhushan Printing Press with the contributions from society. He also started another newspaper '*Janata*' in 1930. This publication continued for 26 years. Then he named it as '*Prabuddha Bharat*'. The names of all his newspapers basically indicated his national feelings and the different stages of his movements. They also made his activeness in media and objectives of life clear. '*Mooknayak*' proved the voice of those who are not normally heard anywhere. The '*Bahiskrit Bharat*' stood firmly with the deprived people. This is a fact that the objective of harmonious Bharat cannot be achieved until all sections of the society join the mainstream and move forward with the rest of the society. Therefore, to educate people about it he started '*Janata*'. After some time when Ambedkar along with his followers embraced Buddhism he renamed '*Janata*' as '*Prabuddha Bharat*'. This shows that even after changing his way of worship he was feeling the dream of a glorious Bharat coming true. By and large the motherland was at the centre stage in all his efforts in journalism too.

Ambedkar was a dedicated journalist and his daily schedule was very hectic. But even after having so many assignments whether it was his political activities, responsibilities as the member of Viceroy Council or his efforts as Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, he spared time to write for his newspaper. He did not miss sending editorials for the magazine even when he was out of the country for Round Table Conferences or any other task. He was particular to ensure that every issue of the magazine is without mistakes and no compromised is made on quality of the content and the values of journalism. His writings reflected his vision, without any bias and hate, for achieving the objective of social justice. He called for opening doors of the temples for all deprived sections of the Hindu society and they also have access to the same sources of water. He wrote many editorials logically stressing the need that the government should move forward accepting the proposal of SK Bhole. Shri Bhole had stressed on all such needs. Ambedkar also sought action against those who created hurdles in the way of social reforms or derailed the efforts of social harmony.

His emphasis on the values of journalism can be understood from his following words:

"Journalism was never a profession in India. But now it has become a business. It morality remains no more than the soap making. Now it does not recognise itself as a responsible advisor to the public. Airing free and fearless news, presenting social-friendly outlook on public issues, criticising the wrong steps of the leaders howsoever big they may be, etc have no value for the Indian journalism. Earlier, all these were supreme duties of a journalist. But today their main principle is dedication to an individual. Giving preference to sensation over news, illogical comments over logical opinion, exciting the feelings of irresponsible people over touching the heart of the responsible people, etc are common today." Lord Salisbari went on saying that 'Indian journalism is an exaltation of their leaders by bards. National interests were never compromised over leader worship as is seen today. Nor leader worship has been so blind, as it is today. I am happy to see that some honourable exceptions are still there. But their voice was never heard."

(The writer is Akhil Bharatiya Sah-prachar Pramukh, RSS)

Courtesy: Avon Meters Pvt. Ltd., Derabassi-140507, Punjab

Two Sides of the Same Coin

Ramesh Patange

Babasaheb's promise to deliver on social justice is evident in his work in the making of Indian Constitution. It is his contribution in the field of social justice, foresightedness and integrity that India has come a long way.

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar is often referred as the 'Great fighter for social justice'. It is the practice of applying several adjectives in front of his name, such as creator of the Indian constitution, saviour of Dalits, dhammapravartak etc. All those adjectives highlight different aspects of his life. But there is no word which can describe his qualities in totality. The word, Social justice describes his sense of abolishing Untouchability, equality within each religion, constitution provisions to end the discrimination, bringing an end to religious acceptance of such discrimination and terminating such non-human practices broadly covers the meaning of "social justice".

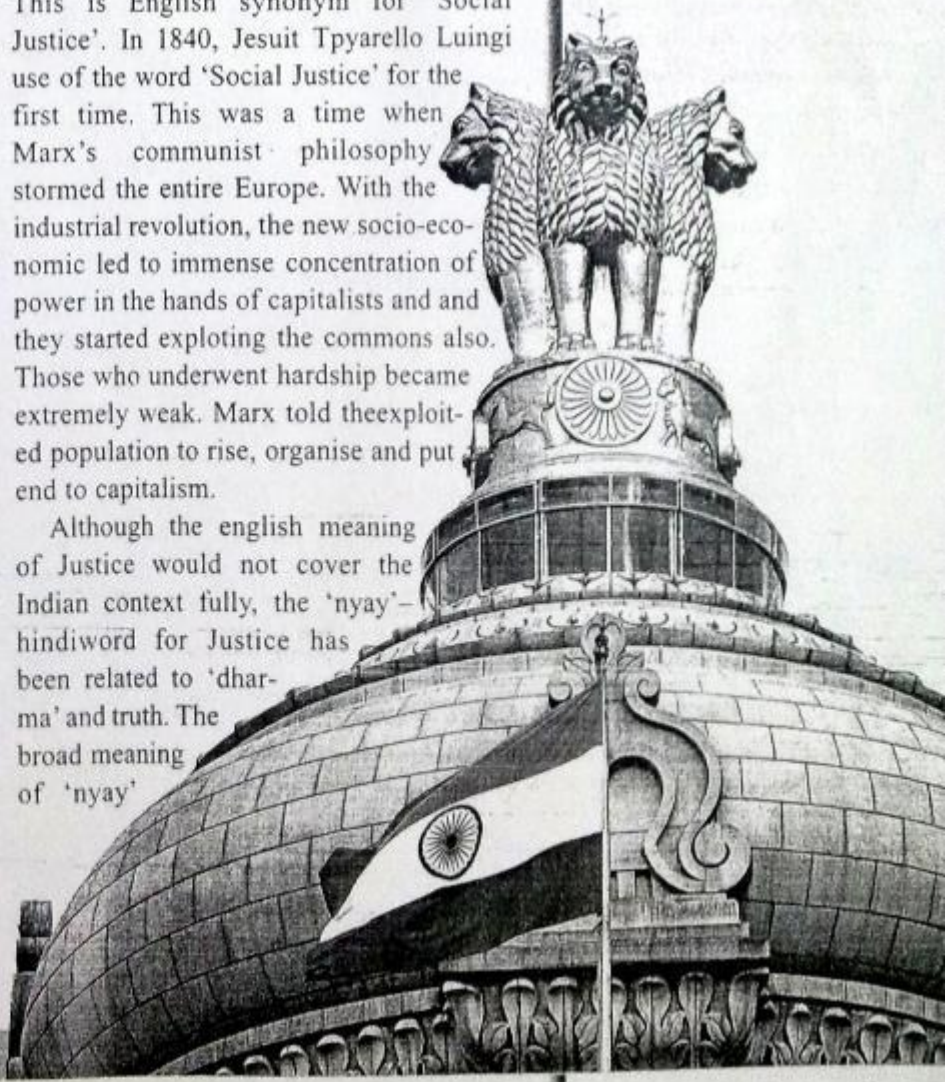
'Social justice' and 'nationalism' are two sides of the same coin, and that is why Dr. Babasaheb should be seen as the architect of modern Indian nationalism. 'Nation' means the people, land and culture. Culture prospers within population and land and it works build a nation. In 1916, Babasaheb presented a paper at Columbia University titled 'Cast-in-India'. In which he writes, "It has not only ageographic unity, but it has over and above all a deeper and a much more fundamental unity – the indubitable culturalunity that covers the land from end to end. But it is because of this homogeneity that Caste becomes a problem so difficult to be explained."(Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar writings and speeches, Vol.I, Page 6.)

Although society is divided into many nations but still it is tied to a culture. Babasaheb said that the nation would not stand without a culture. Cultural unity of the nation and social cohesion are equally critical for a nation to stand. When the society is divided into different nations together, they oftencollide with each other. Class less society is very important. So Babasaheb's 'Buddha and His Dhamma' titled book speaks about the subject of the ideal society. Babasaheb on page no. 232 writes that in order to make a religion good one needs to abolish the law based on social distinctions. Brahmin is superior and Sudra is inferior, this is this type of thing all the nation will notstand (Buddha and His Dhamma p. 236).

Social Jusitce

Social justice is a contemprorary word. This is English synonym for 'Social Justice'. In 1840, Jesuit Tpyarello Luingi use of the word 'Social Justice' for the first time. This was a time when Marx's communist philosophy stormed the entire Europe. With the industrial revolution, the new socio-economic led to immense concentration of power in the hands of capitalists and and they started exploting the commons also. Those who underwent hardship became extremely weak. Marx told theexploited population to rise, organise and put end to capitalism.

Although the english meaning of Justice would not cover the Indian context fully, the 'nyay'– hindiword for Justice has been related to 'dharma' and truth. The broad meaning of 'nyay'



means something which has to do with truth. In short, when someone says that it is the work of religion, it would mean that it is the work of justice and the work of justice, truth.

Caste system - the mother of countless injustices.

These injustices can be further divided as 1. Economic injustice, 2. Social Justice; 3. Political injustice; 4. Religious injustice and 5. Cultural injustice. We all know that being born in an untouchable family made Babasaheb to endure injustice since childhood. In those times untouchables were not allowed to join army or police, doing business was forbidden for them. Restricted access to quality education kept untouchables away from good jobs. This also led to political injustice wherein under British rule the untouchables were denied political rights by refusing to let them having any voting rights in a democracy, freedom to contest any elections and even disallowing them to form a political organisation. Ambedkar lived in a hostile religious condition. Under the pretext of untouchables, they were denied access to public water sources and religious places even they had different crematories. The punishments for breaking these laws could invite traditional social out-casting - the weapon and exclusion mean to banish a person from the lower caste to suffer for being untouchable.

Dr Ambedkar's image

Dr Babasaheb witnessed all above five types of harsh conditions. We need to understand certain characteristics of his struggle against such injustice, unfortunately the so-called authors and self-claimed experts on Ambedkar have misinterpreted a number of facts. Dr Ambedkar made a point in several of his speeches and articles which he

Foundations of Democracy - the truth

But salvation from Untouchability was the only motive behind his struggle. He wanted to lead amovement based on liberty; equality and fraternity to form a basis restructure the Hindu society. His meaning of social justice comprised of liberty, equality and fraternity. By freedom, he meant by birth every human is equal and enjoys equal opportunity. He was of the opinion that society, hierarchy androyalty which impede his progress should be scrapped. All such rules should be abandoned. Equality meant a sense of parity for the whole society. Although, he was one of the critics of the Hindu religion, but he maintained that fraternity should be observed within the larger Hindu religion and beyond it.

There are two meanings of religion. One is in a sense the fundamentals of religion and the second in the ethics means - the relationship of religion. Babasaheb fight was not aimed at changing the fundamental principles of religion but to chase the truth, 'Brahma' - the ultimate reality. In his book, Riddles in Hinduism, Babasaheb writes - It may well be that Brahma is unknowable. But all the same this theory of Brahma has certain social implications which have a tremendous value as a foundation for democracy. If all persons are parts of Brahma then all are equal and all must enjoy the-same liberty which is what Democracy means. Looked at from this point of View Brahma may be unknowable. But there cannot be slightest doubt that no doctrine could furnish a stronger foundation for Democracy than the doctrine of Brahma." (Vol. 4, Page 285.)

It is true that we cannot see 'Brahma', but for democracy the principles of 'brahma' is the key. If eachindividual is a part of 'Brahma', then everyone gets the same share and democracy is the only meansto achieve it.

In his book, *Gautama Buddha and His Dhamma*, he writes, "For a lone person religion is not required but it is required when two people join and they need religion tojoin and let them interact."

A struggle for Radical change

Babasaheb's efforts to bring radical changes in Hindu's life struggle and behaviour but not to destroy Religion as such. He belived by destroying religion it would spread chaos in society andhence in was in the favour of society. In his book, Gautama Buddha and His Dhamma, he writes, "For a lone person religion is not required but it is required when two people join and they need religion tojoin and let them interact." Society without religion is redundant. If society shuns religion then three choices will be left – A. anarchy; B. dictatorship and C. law based administered society. Social justice is possible in the third system. In Anarchy, Darwinism works, dictatorship deprives freedom and in a constitution based state, and social justice and freedom are cherished. Babasaheb not only focused on untouchables but also thought inclusively which included social workers, tenants, women etc. as per these classes and unit their difficulties also differ. These neglected sections of population face disproportionate compensation in spite of their hard work.

Protection of Labour class

In 1936, he formed Independent Labour Party. Babasaheb

Courtesy: Anupam Bhatnagar, Shahdara, Delhi-110032

favoured labourers and in his manifesto published, the workers and farmers' issues were given importance. He also protested against anti-labour bill when it was brought in a Bombay Congress in the year 1938. Further, on November 7, 1938, he successful organised a one day hunger strike. The workers class not only has down-trodden and impoverished people but also comprised of socially marginalised communities and hence Babasaheb's contribution to help the labour class was beyond theboundaries of class and caste. He was seems taking side of those who were exploited and left aside.

Protecting the rights of peasants

He was also concerned with the rights of peasants who faced enormous atrocities under the traditionalcaste system as well as during the British rule. When in 1927 a land bill was brought in the Bombay legislature, he wrote an article titled 'Small holdings in India and their remedies'. The debate was based on the fact that the land is divided among small pieces of lands which doesn't benefit the peasants nor does it help in yields. But Babasaheb opposed the intentions of the bill and said that the size of the land cannot be the reason for yield but the yield is based on investment, labour, seeds and fertilisers. He argued that if the peasants were given access to funds and the labour was made available it will certainly increase he yield. He also challenged the concept that it was agriculture which was the reasons behind the poverty in the rural areas.

Upliftment of Women

Babasaheb also concentrated more on the issues of Women. And this was considered at two levels, one the problems of women from socially marginalised background that is untouchables and the women in general. He even told women that, "Never regard yourself as untouchable. Live a clean life. Dress yourself like the ladies from caste , never mind if your dress is full of patches, but see that it is clean. Learn to be clean. Keep from vices. Give education to your children. Install ambition into them. Inculcate in their minds that they are destined to be great. Remove from them all inferiority complexes." He also believed that the women should be organised. Ambedkar also insisted on the upliftment of women from non-touchable class also.

The creation of Hindu Code Bill

In the beginning of the nineteenth and twentieth century the situation of women was critical. Child marriage, sati system, ban on re-marriage, bans on their education, depriving hem the right to wealth created a situation where the women were hardly treated as a part of a society. The work by Raja Ram mohan Roy, Phule were noteworthy to bring the women issue on the forefront and give them justice. Babasaheb expedited this process further by bringing in the Hindu Code Bill.

The bill gave women their equal right in marriage, divorce, indemnity, property etc. Moreover the bill banned polygamy helping women to raise their social standard. As a result this bill was Ambedkar's biggest gift to the women of this country. It is different fact that later various legal interventions were made in the bill and it was further divided in by-laws.

Father of Indian Constitution

If one takes a stock of all these credits, it gives us an idea of Ambedkar's contribution towards India through the medium of building the constitution. While creating the Indian constitution, with reference to the famous case of Keshavanand Bharati, it is apparent that Ambedkar made sure that the basic structure of the constitution remain intact and no compromise would be allowed to fracture the fundamentals of Social justice.

These are three evidence in the Indian constitution where this is clearly visible, one, the preamble where it is clearly drawn that the Indian constitution adopts the principles of freedom, equality, fraternity and justice. Second section which protects the basic structure of the constitution is the human rights and third part which extends the guarantee in Directive principles of state policy.

Warnings

Babasaheb's promise to deliver on social justice is evident in his work in the making of Indian constitution. It is important here to mention that after his demise the politicians and the so-called interpreters of Ambedkar's thought have really neglected his thoughts and misread his contributions. He had even underlined the importance of river linking. He was a Rastrapurush in real sense. It is his contribution in the field of social justice, foresightedness and integrity that India has come a long way. In his Annihilation of Caste speech, he clarified that "Yours is a national cause... it is more important than Swaraj. There is no use having Swaraj, if you cannot defend it. More important than the question of defending Swaraj is the question of defending the Hindus under the Swaraj. Without such internal strength, Swaraj for Hindus may turn to be only astep towards slavery. Goodbye and good Wishes for your success." This gives us a clear idea that Babasaheb was a true nationalist and at the same time the warrior of social change.

(The writer is President of Hindustan Prakashan Sanstha, Mumbai and founder member Samajik Samrasta Manch))

Courtesy: J.D. Gogia, President-Advisory Committee, Indraprastha Punjabi Sabha, Delhi

Inspiring Words

Dr Narendra Jadhav

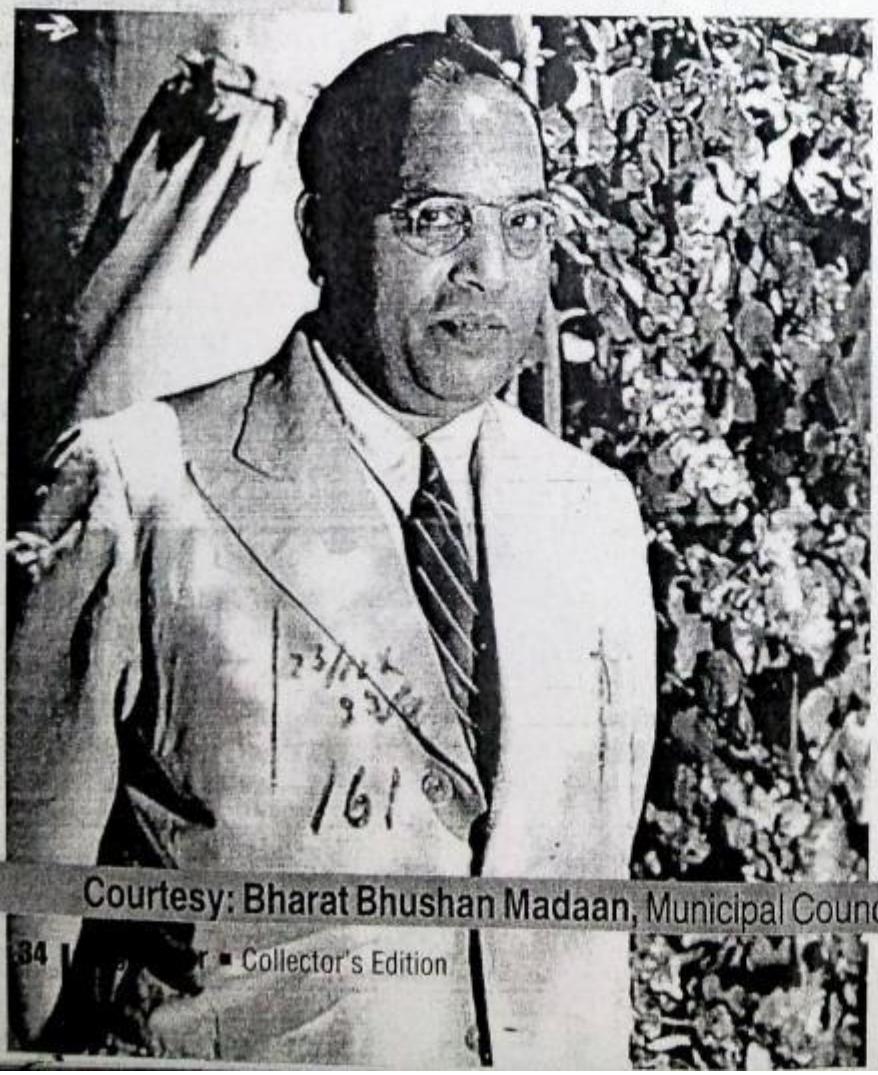
Dr Ambedkar always remained a reflective thinker and erudite scholar. Even while being fully engrossed in mass movement and political upheavals, he wrote remarkable treatise on economics and sociology.

Bharat Ratna Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar affectionately known as BabasahebAmbedkar, was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious sons of India. He appeared on the Indian socio-political scene in the early 1920s and remained in the forefront of the social, cultural, economic and political transformation of India during the closing decades of the British Rule. After the Independence in 1947, Dr Ambedkar played a uniquely significant role till his death in 1956 in laying the foundation of modern India.

Dr Ambedkar's life is an incredible sage: an untouchable boy, humilitated every step of the way from childhood to youth, beats all odds securing the highest and most reputable degrees from world class universities. He then devotes his life to the destruction of the caste-ridden old order, characterised by injustice and denial of human rights. Without being favoured either by family fortune or political lineage, but by the sheer grit of his determination and back-breaking hard work, supreme courage and self-less sacrifice, he overcomes bitter political opposition and perils of caste-discrimination to become the Principal Architect of the Constitution of the Independence India. He then proceeds to build the safeguards of affirmative action for establishing a more equitable society that is capable of delivering social justice to millions of downtrodden, thus heralding in India a new age of social equality and rationalism. In this process.Dr Ambedkar comes to the forefront not only as a valiant upholder of the Indian Republic, but also emerges as the conscience keeper of modern India.

No wonder there are more statues of Dr Ambedkar in India than any other leader in the history of our nation. These statues depict a stocky man, invariably dressed in a blue suit and red tie, holding a book under his arm which, of course, represents the Constitution of India. Such statues can be found everywhere in India, in villages and in cities, usually at cross-roads . It is hardly surprising that every year, on 6 December (the death anniversary of Dr Ambedkar), around 2 million Ambedkarites throng to Chaitya Bhoomi in Mumbai to pay homage to the hero they worship as their savior. It is also not surprising that Dr Ambedkar was voted recently (August 2012) as the "Greatest Indian" in an e-poll initiated by some TV channels (History TV 18 and CNN-IBN) with an overwhelming majority of nearly 2 crore votes!

Against this background, clearly it is grossly unfair to characterise Dr Ambedkar simply as a leader of Dalits, as is often done even in otherwise responsible quarters. Dr



Courtesy: Bharat Bhushan Madaan, Municipal Councillor, Moti Nagar, Delhi-110015

Ambedkar was not simply a Dalit leader or only a leader of the oppressed people of India. He was a national leader. Dr Ambedkar's erudition, his mass movements, his role in the Government and outside clearly shows that his brand of nationalism was quite different from others in the struggle for securing freedom for India from the British Colonial rule. Dr Ambedkar's nationalism was not merely confined to the transfer of political power to the Indians. It was focused on a much broader notion of sustainable national re-construction i.e., building a Democratic Republic through creation of social equality and cultural integration in the age-old caste-ridden, inherently unjust and discriminating society.

In the course of his most eventful life, Dr Ambedkar made outstanding contribution as an economist, sociologist, anthropologist, educationist, journalist, as an authority on Comprative Religion, as a policy-maker and administrator, and as a parliamentarian, besides being a jurist who became the Principal Architect of the Indian Constitution. Above all, Dr Ambedkar was a great social reformer, a valiant champion of human rights and an emancipator of the downtrodden masses of India, who dedicated all his life to awaken the social conscience of modern India.

In spite of being a statesman and a mass leader, Dr Ambedkar always remained a reflective thinker and erudite scholar. Even while being fully engrossed in mass movement and political upheavals, he wrote remarkable treatise on economics and sociology.

Dr Ambedkar also delivered a very large number of speeches on a wide range of subjects and in diverse regional, national and international forums. Among the subjects, the speeches ranged from socio, economic and religious issues to those relating to law and Constitution, besides politics. In terms of the for a, it included the Bombay Province Legislative Council, (and later) Bombay Legislative Assembly, Round Table Conferences hosted by the British Government in London, in the role as a Labour Member of Viceroy's Executive Council, Central Legislative Assembly (as the first Law Minister of Inedependent India), Constituent Assembly (as the Chairman, Drafting Committee for the Constitution of India) and the Parliament (Opposition Member, Rajya Sabha). In addition, DrAmbedkar gave a large number of public addresses as the most prominent leader of the social and political movement inspired by him.

This trilogy is the first ever attempt at a systematic study of all speeches attributed to Dr Ambedkar. DrAmbedkar delivered his speeches mainly in Marathi and English, and at times, in Hindi and Gujarati.

This triology, first of all, makes an attempt to develop a comprehensive bibliography of all speeches delivered by DrAmbedkar in all for languages – Marathi, English, Hindi and Gujarati; bringing together all speeches attributed to Dr Ambedkar from various volumes of BAWS, and those included elsewhere, especially in the Constituent Assembly Debates and some other sources. It turns out that there are, in all 537 speeches. Of thse 537 speeches, 37 speeches for which the reports available are too sketchy were omitted and the attention is focused on the remaining 500 speeches for detailed analysis and contextualisation.

In India Bhakti plays a part in politics unequalled in magnitude than the part it plays in the politics of any other country in the world. Bhakti may be a road to the salvation of the soul; but, in politics Bhakti or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and eventual dictatorship.

- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

While all 500 speeches were published in Marathi in the companion trilogy under the title Bol Mahamanavache (3 Volumes, 1760 pages, October 2012, Granthali, Mumbai), the present English trilogy excludes speeches which are repetitive in nature, and presents in three volumes, 301 Seminal Speeches attributed to Dr Ambedkar in a thematic manner. Several of the selected speeches were available only in Marathi, which had to be translated into English for this trilogy. The 301 selected Seminal Speeches attributed to Dr Ambedkar were divided into seven categories, some of which, disaggregated further into sub-categories and then presented, as fully as poccible, with brief introductions to the seven categories. Needless to say that within each category and each subcategory, the selected speeches are organised in a chronological order which enables appreciation of the evolution of Dr Ambedkar's thinking.

(The writer is former member Planning Commission, Govt of India)

Courtesy: Suraaj, Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwar-National President, **Vinod Goel**-Delhi State President

Travelers of Same Path

B R Idate

To make Hindu society organised, homogenous on the principle of social equality and harmony sans all discriminations was Dr Ambedkar's mission.

The then Sarsanghchalak of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) Sri Guruji Golwalkar in 1973 wrote to Shirish Kadlak, President of Bhimrao Sahitya Sangh, Mumbai, expressing his deep reverence for Dr Ambedkar and his mission of achieving social unity.

Sri Guruji wrote: "it is my most natural duty to bow to the sacred memory of most revered Dr Ambedkar. He caused turbulence in the entire world with the message of India. He considered the poor, the weak, the downtrodden, the ignorant Indians were his Gods and to serve them and to arouse their dormant divine spirit with a view to bringing happiness in their lives and uplift them was the true worship of God. He lashed mercilessly on the practice of keeping a section of the society aloof in the name of untouchability and other similar associated customs and called for creating a new society. Dr Babasaheb made a very fervent appeal for this and succeeded in raising an important section of our society which until now remained depressed, neglected and ignorant by kindling in them the fire of self-pride and confidence. This is his extraordinary miracle. He obliged this nation in a great way. It is almost impossible to free from his debt."

Swami Vivekananda had said that India can be emancipated by joining the sharp intellect of Srimad Shankaracharya and compassion of large hearted Bhagwan Buddha. It should be accepted and agreed to that Dr Ambedkar by initiating him and his followers into Buddhist tradition had taken an important stride towards fulfillment of this mission. His analytical and sharp intellect saw and pointed to shortcomings of the Buddhist religion with a mind of a philosopher. Dr Ambedkar insisted supporting this religion because it inspired people to serve the fellow human beings by instilling in them virtues like success in dealing, sanctity, and compassionate affection. These benefits of Buddhist religion are necessary for the uplift of the nation and deliverance of the human race. Bhagwan Buddha commented on the then prevailing customs with the aim of social reforms and purifying the dharma and not for creating a separate identity. I feel strongly that in the present context, Dr Babasaheb too, accepted this religion not to establish a separate identity but to make the society free of any shortcomings, in the interest of dharma and welfare of the entire society. I consider him as a representative of Bhagwan Buddha in the present time and offer my sincere regards in his memory." (Patrarup Sri Guruji, Page 44).

The birth centenary year of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar started on 14th April 1990. On this occasion, Sri Balasaheb Deoras said, "India is passing through a

Dr Ambedkar (L) during a public meeting

Courtesy: Bijender Gupta, President-Sanskar Bharti, Delhi

delicate situation and at the same time the birth centenary year of great patriot, staunch supporter of social equality and harmony, and the architect of Indian Constitution Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar begins on April 14, 1990. In the present difficult situation, we must draw inspiration from the life and thoughts of Dr Babasaheb and strive to strengthen Indian democracy, national integration and social unity and, make an honest assessment of his mission with a clean, unbiased mind."

The social unity of the country was the main inspiration that inspired Dr Ambedkar to take to the mission of deliverance of the Dalits from the gross injustice inflicted on them. He firmly believed that the country could see better days only with the removal of caste-based divisions. For this the caste must be annihilated.

Dattopant Thengdi quoted one of Dr Ambedkar's quotation in this regard. Dr Ambedkar used to say: "So long as castes remain, Hindu religion cannot be made a missionary religion and shuddhi will be both folly and futility. So long as castes remain there would be no Sangathan and so long as there is no Sangathan, the Hindus would remain weak and meek. Caste has made sangathan and cooperation even for a good cause impossible. There is no Hindu consciousness that exists in the consciousness of the castes". (Apne samaj ke bhavishya ke bare me apekshayen-kal ki aur aaj ki, Page 74).

Babasaheb was very curious to know about RSS. He visited the RSS camp and felt very happy to find that there was no trace of untouchability. RSS swayamsevaks revere him daily by chanting his name with respect in the Ekatmata Stotram (Thakkaro Bhimravascha Fule Narayano Guruh).

If we analyze the thoughts of Dr Babasaheb regarding nation we cannot think sans Hindu society. Babasaheb was aware of the fact that unless the reforms were initiated in the Hindu society and desired change was not brought about, then the country would remain weak. Therefore, he tried untiringly to reform the Hindu society. Dwarka Khairmode described these efforts of Babsaheb in the best possible way in the book "Dr Ambedkar and Hindu Code Bill" written by Changdeo Khairmode. She writes: "From the very beginning of his movement i.e from 1924, Babsaheb was striving for social equality to integrate the Hindu society. These efforts continued till the last days of his life. However, the people misunderstood his mission and thoughts to provide integrated thought process for welfare of the entire Hindu society and steps to achieve this goal." (Page 1)

In such a situation Ambedkar was dissatisfied with Pt. Nehru's move of not presenting the Hindu Code Bill to the Lok Sabha and he resigned from Pt. Nehru's ministry. The Deputy Speaker insulted Dr Babasaheb and his intellect by not allowing him to speak in the House. It was an irony of fate that Dr Ambedkar who strived hard for his life to see Hindu society lived with self-pride and confidence, to uphold India's freedom forever and to make untiring efforts for this, had to leave the Lok Sabha in the most insulting situation.

RSS Sarsanghchalak Balasaheb Devras points out to this in his statement issued on the occasion of birth centenary of Dr Ambedkar. He says: "This is coincidently the centenary of Mahatma Jyotiba Fule whom Dr Ambedkar accepted as his guru. Mahatma Fule and Dr Ambedkar dedicated all their movements and agitation to restore rights of the untouchables. Therefore, when Babasaheb decided to change his religion along with his followers, senior RSS Pracharak Dattopant Thengdi went to meet him. In the course of discussion Babasaheb told Thengdi, 'I have to offer to my people something before I leave this wolrd; give them some definite direction because this society is still languishing in exploitation, backwardness and ignorance. Now, they are slowly awakening from their slumber, it is but natural they are experiencing anger and enthusiasm. Such a society can be very easily misguided. It is a canon fodder for Communism and I don't want that my people should fall prey to communism. You must understand one thing very clearly that Between the Scheduled Caste and Communism Ambedkar is the barrier and between the caste Hindus and Communism Golwalkar may be a barrier.' (Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, D B Thengdi, Page 16)

He had great regard and curiosity about RSS in his mind. He visited the RSS camp and felt very happy observing the total absence of caste feeling and affiliation there. He also visited Bhavani shakha in karad and Dapoli shakha of RSS. In 1948, when RSS was banned, Sri Guruji met Dr Ambedkar and shared his agony with him. When the ban was lifted Sri Guruji wrote him expressing his gratitude. The RSS has included his name with reverence in the Ekatmata Stotram recited at the shakhas and camps daily. (Thakkaro Bhimravasch) We revere him daily by respectfully remembering him,

(The writer is Chairman of Denotified & Nomadic Tribes Commission)

Courtesy: Mahender Gupta, Secretary, Delhi State, BJP

Conquering the Maladies

Dr Ashok Modak

Bharat Ratna Babasaheb Ambedkar unerringly worshipped high values because he was blessed with a high mission in life. His name will forever ecourage us to do what is right.

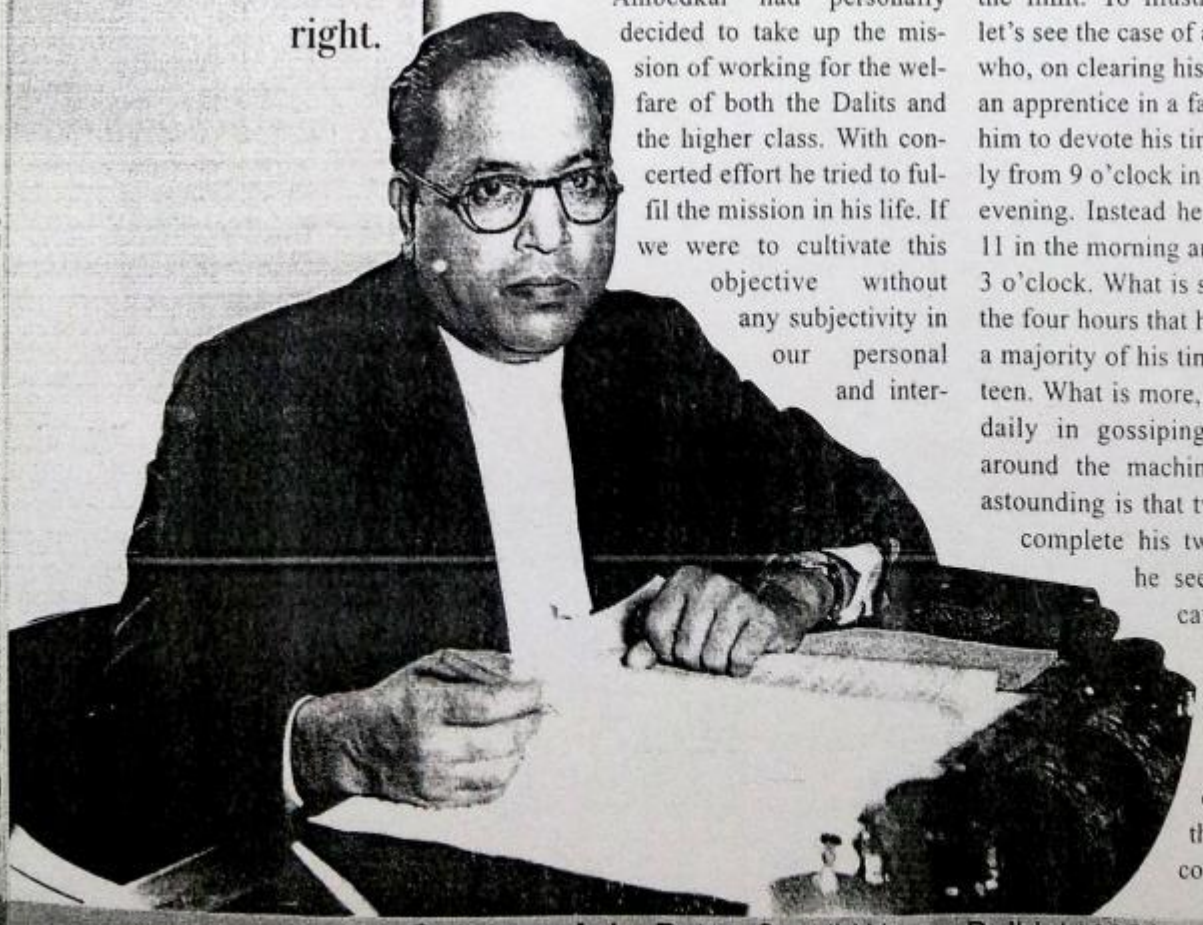
Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar was blessed with a multi-dimensional personality. This Bharat Ratna's mission in life is specifically important in current scenario.

Over the past three decades, the country's middle-class population has touched the 25 crore mark and this year, by end of 2015, this number will reach 50 crores as estimated by the Asian Development Bank. Besides, concern is being expressed at the tendency towards increasing cosumerism, unrestrained behaviour and declining sense of culture. The middleclass is becoming a slave to this mode of conduct. In such an environment, people who have strayed away from the roots of their culture can be brought back by emulating the missionary zeal shown by Dr Ambedkar.

Ambedkar had personally decided to take up the mission of working for the welfare of both the Dalits and the higher class. With concerted effort he tried to fulfil the mission in his life. If we were to cultivate this objective without any subjectivity in our personal and interpersonal behaviour, not only can we redeem ourselves but enrich the society too.

Today, due to globalisation, a wide variety of goods from different nations are abundantly available at our doorsteps even in the remotest of our villages. Competition is in full swing in the production and advertisement of all kinds of products to entice the consumer. As we are aware an ordinary middle-class society harbours the desire to show off his every new acquisition. A philosopher has rightly said that it is the desire of every person to impress the neighbour he dislikes and with this aim in view, he embarks on purchasing of goods that are not even required. As a result, consumerism is inceasing at a a rapid pace. In othe words, capriciousness is rising beyond the limit. To illustrate this phenomenon, let's see the case of an engineering student, who, on clearing his examination, becomes an apprentice in a factory. It is expected of him to devote his time to work continuously from 9 o'clock in the morning to 6 in the evening. Instead he reaches the factory at 11 in the morning and returns home at 2 or 3 o'clock. What is surprising is that out of the four hours that he passes in the factory, a majority of his time is passed in the canteen. What is more, he spends half an hour daily in gossiping with his fellowmen around the machine. What is especially astounding is that two years before he can complete his two-year apprenticehsip, he seeks a character certificate from the manager. Ironically enough, the manager gives him the certificate.

Incidents involving corruption, rape, empathy, lack of culture are coming to the fore in the



Courtesy: Ashu Betta, Gandhi Nagar, Delhi-110031

form of blatant self-wilfulness. Eat, drink, enjoy and be merry now constitute an individual mission in life. By pondering on Dr Ambedkar's missionary life, the right path to conquer the current maladies afflicting the society can be found. Somebody has rightly said that Babasaheb Ambedkar can serve as a living guide in the current scenario when one sees how he slogged hard throughout his life to fulfil his mission in life.

The seeds of his mission were sown during his chidlhood days. Before going abroad, Ambedkar met Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda in 1893, when the latter asked him, "Why do you want to go abroad?" Bhimrao replied that his intention ws not only to receive higher education in America and Britain but to acquire the qualifications that could help him serve the wider purpose of working for the welfare of his Dalit brethren on returning back. In 1952, that is, merely four years before his death, Babasaheb, while giving a speech in Bombay, informed his audience, "In 1893, what I had promised Sayajirao Gaikwad , I have now fulfilled to a wide extent." This reminds us of a phrase which says that is is easy to promise but difficult to fulfil but he proved it wrong. Babasaheb was Raja Harishchandra (an Indian king known for his honesty) of the 20th century. It is difficult for us to even imagine how many and what type of ordeals he must have passed through to fulfil his promises.

People congratulating Dr Ambedkar on his birthday in 1950

In those days, the plight of the Dalits was utterly miserable. They faced all kinds of opposition at the hands of the upper class. In the words of Veer Savarkar, the Hindu society had tightly imprisoned itself in seven bonds – of the Vedas, occupation, touch, bread, daughter, hygiene and water, which were like seven bonds. Dalit brothers and sisters had to severely suffer the effects of these bonds. Bhimrao Ambedkar himself had suffered the effects of these bonds during his childhood. Despite obtaining the highest level of education and occupying important positions after returning from abroad, he could not find relief from these bonds. Constant humiliation and ridicule! He however did not relent; he continued his struggle against all his miseries. In the epic Mahabharata, Karns says to Niyati, "Madayatm tu purushum, pujyate raja vidwaan sarvtra pujyate," that is, "on attaining knowledge, I can become pure and respectful". This limited purpose was not what he desired. Instead, "my scholarship would prove instrumental in the growth of the Dalits. My veneration would encourage the high castes to tread the path of justice and humanity and those Dalits, who are just and humane, will be partners in the growth of fellow Dalits." Ambedkar had this faith in his heart.

On returning to India, while giving a speech in 1933, at a programme to honour him, Ambedkar presented an account of his days as a student, "I was studying abroad but the memory of my Dalit brethren kept piercing my heart and the need for their welfare troubled me, prodding me to concentrate with full dedication on my studies."

Not only during his student days, but throughout his entire life, Ambedkar studied hard, pondered and wrote. Every article written by him reveals that his arguments were pure and revealed his scholarship. Rising above prejudices and biases, every article and book by him displays his resolve to come to a just conclusion. On the birth centenary of Justice Ranade in 1943, in a moving speech, Ambedkar conveyed his heartfelt respects to Ranade, Tilak, Gokhale and other predecessors of his while expressing sorrow at the downfall in the prevailing conditions. It is said that no longer is that generation alive – a generation which used to trudge proudly on the path of learning for public welfare. Their sole aim was to learn, ponder and implement.

During his student days, Bhimrao could neither watch films nor go sightseeing or indulge in futile gossip with his friends. With complete dedication like brave Arjuna did in

Courtesy: Mittal Traders, Gandhi Nagar, Delhi-110031.

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– In 1952, Babasaheb, while giving a speech in Bombay, informed his audience.

the Mahabharata, Bhimrao, through his sharp intellect, concentrated seriously on his studies, despite not possessing the means to fulfil even his ordinary needs. He dutifully despatched a portion of his scholarlship money to his wife. He continued to devote his time to study, surviving on a single cup of tea or coffee that he could manage. Spending 18-19 hours daily on his studies, passing the days on an empty stomach at times, his dedication bore fruit after two years, when even to take short leave to rest was not in his nature. His research project, titled National Deviant of India, was completed in a few months and after despatching it to Columbia University, Ambedkar revealed his erudition. In 1942, his research project got published in book form. India became independent and the Finance Commission was constituted on the basis of his book.

Ambedkar was in America deeply engrossed in his project when Lala Lajpat Rai requested this bright student to join politics. The British Minister Montague too invited him to come to Bombay, but Ambedkar turned down both the proposals. Shahu Chhatrapati, the king of Kolhapur, like Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda, was his benefactor rendering him financial assistance. In his letters to the king, Ambedkar conveyed that instead of earning individual fame, his desire was to attain as much knowledge as possible and not deviate from his chosen path of working for the welfare of the Dalits.

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In 1924, Babasaheb returned to India. He took to writing seriously and the titles of the many journals he edited were significant – *Mooknayak, Bahishkrit Bharat, Samta and Janata* in Marathi. This devotee had resolved to devote his body, heart and mind to the service of mankind. He decided to bring out the weekly Mooknayak, but gave his idea practical form in the presence of a large gathering. The poor of India saw in him their redeemer. At thousands of places, programmes were organsied to honour him. On every occasion, Ambedkar offered his gratitude. He even conveyed very humbly that he was an ordinary instrument in the hands of God whose desire it was that he should fulfil through his work. In the present situation when rank cosumerism is on the rise, Ambedkar, by expressing his humility and by calling himself an instrument, can enthuse the current youth who have gone astray to return to the right path.

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar's life journey proves the words of eloquence that our saints have uttered in the past. It seems that keeping this missionary in mind, these ascetics had said the following thoughtful words:

1. Na ritey shrantasya sakhyay devaru
2. Uddyam sahasam dhairyam buddhiru shaktiru parakram.

Shadetey yantra vartante tantra dev sahaykaru. (God helps those who are endowed with six qualities like industriousness, bravery, patience, intelligence, strength and vigour.)

Vidyaya vivadaya dhanam madaya.

Shaktiha upresham parsheernay.

Khalasya sadhoru vipreetmedat.

Gyanaya danaya cha rakshanay. (A villain uses his knowledge, wealth and strength for the purpose of starting a controversy, to get into a state of frenzy and inflict pain on others, while a righteous person adds to the knowledge, price and protection to his existing treasure.)

3. Prabdhbhutbhajnaha na parityajanti. (An excep-

Courtesy: Sankalp Co-operative Urban Thrift and Credit Society Ltd., Shahdra, Delhi-110093

tionally good person never leaves a task incomplete once he takes it up.)

That Dr Ambedkar enriched this Indian tradition to become a Bharat Ratna cannot be argued. A person who is weak and silly and lost all vigour is bound to suffer torment. To build self-confidence in him, to make him stand on his own feet and estabilsh a new India by making the freedom struggle inclusive in his life was the objective of Dr Ambedkar's life. A representative from the newspaper Manchester Guardian paid a visit to India in 1945. He had come with the view to interview Mahatma Gandhi, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Dr Ambedkar and other leaders. He went to meet Gandhiji at 9 o'clock at night. Gandhiji was fast asleep. He then reached Mohammed Ali Jinnah's residence. He received the same information on Jinnah. In the end, he went to Dr Babasaheb's house. He was surprised to find Babasaheb lost in thought in his tudy room. "Gandhiji and Jinnah have gone to sleep but you are still studying instead of sleeping," expressed the represenative of Manchester Guardian in surprise. Babasaheb gave a very meaningful reply, "Oh well, those two are guiding a society which is enlightened, but I have to lead those who cannot get sleep." In the Bhagwad Gita, a saint has been described thus: 'Yasyaam jagriti sanyami' and that is what Ambedkar was.

> A representative from the newspaper Manchester Guardian paid a visit to India in 1945, he asked Ambedkar, "Gandhiji and Jinnah have gone to sleep but you are still studying instead of sleeping." He replied, "Oh well, those two are guiding a society which is enlightened, but I have to lead those who cannot get sleep."

Dr Ambedkar frequently advised his Dalit brethren to educate the society. The camps on the path to fulfilment of this objeceive were education, movement and organisation, though the most essential prerequisite of his was to lead an honest and upright life. One day, he reached a tiny remote village to address Dalit women. In his momentous speech, he advised them, "If one of you sisters were to become a prostitue and sell your body, you may earn much more than what is earned by a second sister who goes and washes utensils and clothes in the house of an upper caste man. This second sister will inevitably be poorer than the first but in my eyes, the second sister is worthy of praise. Sheelam param bhooshanam."

Dr Babasaheb agreed that the common man in India was influenced by Dharma. It was because of this influence that even if a poor woman toiled in the house of the rich, she never committed robbery. His favourite definition was that Dharma meant maintaining the highest values in one's own and in inter-personal behaviour throughout life.

Babasaheb was simply unable to accept that the Dalit brothers and sisters should only be concerned with the welfare of the higher castes and sub-castes and behave in a certain manner. He chose to launch the weekly Mooknayak and completed his journalistic career by bringing out the journal Janata. This great prersonality, who toiled and struggled througout his life, passed his last days reciting the mantra of people, morality and sympathy before seeking refuge at the feet of Lord Gautam Buddha.

The mission in whose light Dr Ambedkar passed his entire life was multidimensional. It would be wrong to assume that he was concerned only about a specific caste or path. The first step of this missionary was concern for the world humanity and India. Traits like envy, anger, rebellion, etc. encourage man to turn towards the wrong path, but that genuine qualities like love, brotherhood, greatness, etc. should be encouraged constituted the second step in his mission.

Ambedkar's favourite mantra was that of brotherhood. That the roots of moral ethics should penetrate deeply into one's personal and inter-personal life constituted the third dimension of Ambedkar's mission. While studying in London, he met an Irishwoman named Francesca Fitzgerald with whom he became very close but being conscious of the fact that he was a married man and that his honest wife was leading a life of seclusion, prompted him to lead a moral life too. This helped him to develop a relationship with Francesca that was restrained and pure. Changdeo Khormode, with whom Babasaheb could discuss personal issues uninhibitedly, is the author of Ambedkar's biogrpahy. Khormode has written that Ambedkar's friendship with Francesca was pure and in no way crossed any limit. Ambedkar had himself informed Khormode about Francesca.

In this repect, moral conduct alone can guide us to keep to the straight and the narrow in personal life. Bharat Ratna Babasaheb Ambedkar unerringly worshipped high values because he was blessed with a high mission in life. His name will forever ecourage us to do what is right. Our humble homage to him!

(The writer is eminent thinker & adjunct Prof. Centre for Eurasian Studies University of Mumbai)

Courtesy: Aggarwal Finance Co., Dilshad Garden, Delhi-110095

No Appeasement, No Special Status

Dr Kuldip Chand Agnihotri

Ambedkar feared that if referendum was conducted in whole J&K, the outcome may go in favour of Pakistan and the whole state might be given to Pakistan.

Since Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) is again in the centre stage, a discussion on the views of Bhimrao Ambedkar on this issue has begun. Views of Pt Nehru, Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Sardar Patel and Dr Rejendra Prasad on this issue undoubtedly are very important. Equally, the views of Maharaja Hari Singh and Sheikh Abdullah too cannot be ignored. Jinnah also had a definite view on it. The overall discussion on J&K mainly revolves around these stalwarts. But the views of Dr Ambedkar on it are not widely discussed. Before moving ahead to discuss Ambedkar on J&K, let us have a look at the background of the whole controversy.

The prime reason of the controversy is linked with Pt Nehru who treated J&K different from other Indian states of that time. The logic behind it was that the population of Muslims in the state was more than the Hindus, Sikhs, Gujjars, Shias and the other tribes. Strange enough, claiming to be secular, Nehru was scanning J&K only from the Hindu-Muslim angle. His only parameter was ratio of Hindu-Muslim population. Whereas Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar felt that this approach of Congress Party was faulty and this was the reason that the Congress, while indulging in Muslim appeasement, went on accepting Partition of the country. Both Congress and Nehru had been of the opinion, since beginning, that the opinion of Indian states should be sought as whether they want a democratic government or the traditional monarchy. Nehru also wrote a letter to the Maharaja of J&K explaining this policy. But at the same time he also said that the Instrument of Accession of other states was accepted without any dispute because the opinion of the peopie of those states was 'known'. But it was not the case with J&K. Therefore, the Government of India promised the people of J&K that their opinion would be sought before accession of the state and any decision would be taken thereafter.

This letter by Nehru is very significant. It exposes his real intention. Opinion of the people had not been sought in any of the states, which joined the country's new Constitutional system. Then how Nehru claimed that the opinion of the people in those states was already 'known'? How Nehru knew the opinion of those people? The answer is obvious, since the people living in those states were Hindus, Nehru naturally accepted that the Hindus will join the Indian Union. Then why Nehru did not

Courtesy: Nav Varsh Ki Mangal Kamnayen - T.N.Goel, Chandigarh

think the same in case of J&K? Reason, the Muslims were in majority there. This means Nehru knew that Muslims are not ready to join India.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah too had the same opinion. He also said that Muslims cannot live in India. That is why they should be given separate country as Pakistan. By and large, both Nehru and Jinnah were thinking on similar lines on the issue of Hindus and Muslims. But both were wrong. Fact is that the areas where Muslims were in majority were not in favour of Pakistan. They were not in favour for the Partition of India. This is the reason when Muslim League contested elections on the demand of Pakistan it lost in Muslim dominated areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab. The Congress, which was opposing the creation of Pakistan, won there. If those Muslims dominated areas were anti-Pakistan, how can the Muslims of J&K think of supporting Pakistan? If Nehru 'knew' the public mood of other states, the same formula could have been applied more easily in J&K also. Whatever image Nehru portrayed in public, he internally knew that Muslims were with Pakistan. But he wanted that J&K should become a part of India. There was no problem in it. Maharaja Hari Singh was the ruler of Kashmir then and legally only was authorised to take a decision in this regard. He too was against acceding to Pakistan.

Former President Dr Rajendra Prasad (R) greeting Dr Ambedkar

The people of Kashmir also were certainly not in favour of going with Pakistan. But Nehru, because of his communal mindset, thought that they want to go with Pakistan. In that mental state he needed a Muslim leader of name and fame, who could make him believe that the people of Kashmir want to stay with India. If he found any such Muslim leader he was ready to give any reward for it.

Dr Ambedkar was not in favour of Article 370 in the Federal Constitution of India. When Sheikh Abdulla went to Ambedkar to persuade him for the Article he returned empty handed. Ambedkar said I am the Law Minister of India and will not be treacherous to the national interest.

In that mental state he came across with Sheikh Abdullah, who assured him that he can persuade Muslims to stay with India. Therefore, Nehru started work on this policy putting Sheikh in front. And Sheikh started 'charging' the cost of it. Nehru forgot that people of Kashmir Valley too were ready to stay with India. It was not because of Sheikh Abdullah but because of the history and psychology of the people there. Maharaja Hari Singh was also making efforts, since September, to accede with the India dominion. But Nehru was not ready to accept that accession through Maharaja. He wanted the same proposal through Sheikh Abdullah so that he can prove that a Muslim leader and a Muslim state is proposing to join the India dominion having no regard to the Muslim state Pakistan. Nehru thought it because he was under the impression that this is going to happen because of his personality and influence over Muslims. If the accession proposal by Maharaja Hari Singh was accepted that would not have been called a 'Nehruvian miracle'. Then it would be called that a Hindu king had no option but to join the Indian dominion. It is well known that Nehru was badly defeated by Jinnah in the political battle, but by accepting the proposal of accession through a Muslim, Sheikh Abdullah, he wanted to defeat him. Sheikh was regularly charging the cost of that role. Entire J&K was pushed in danger through this experiment of Nehru. And finally he followed his old policy of Muslim appeasement in J&K also. This was beginning of Article 370.

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Courtesy: Narender Arora, Vijay Nagar, Delhi-110009

India and will not be treacherous to the national interests. Then this proposal was tabled in the Constituent Assembly by Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

Ambedkar questioned the Kashmir policy of Nehru in the statement issued after he resigned from the Nehru Cabinet in October. In that lengthy statement he wrote, "The Prime Minister's whole time and attention is devoted for the protection of the Muslims. I yield to none, not even to the Prime Minister, in my desire to give the Muslims of India the utmost protection wherever and whenever they stand in need of it. But what I want to know is, are the Muslims the only people who need protection? Are the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Indian Christians not in need of protection? What concern has he shown for these communities? So far as I know, none and yet these are the communities which need far more care and attention than the Muslims."

Ambedkar might had used soft language to express his feelings, but his anguish was old. He had told Mahatma Gandhi that he was ready to give a blank cheque to Muslims, but always pushed his hand back when it comes to give anything to Dalits. Ambedkar raised this question because he felt that Nehru was playing his old Muslim appeasement politics in J&K also.

In his idealism Nehru took the matter of J&K to the United Nations. Ambedkar was not in its favour. Although India was right, not a single nation supported India in UNO. Nehru's foreign policy was shedding tears over its failure there. Ambedkar says in the statement, "The matter which has given me cause, not merely for dissatisfaction but for actual anxiety and even worry, is the foreign policy of the country. Any one, who has followed the course of our foreign policy and along with it the attitude of other countries towards India, could not fail to realise the sudden change that has taken place in their attitude towards us. On August 15, 1947 when we began our life as an independent country, there was no country which wished us ill. Every country in the world was our friend. Today, after four years, all our friends have deserted us. We have no friends left. We have alienated ourselves. We are pursuing a lonely furrow with no one even to second our resolutions in the UN. When I think of our foreign policy, I am reminded of what Bismark and Bernard Shaw has said. Bismark has said that 'politics is not a game of realising the ideal. Politics is the game of the possible.' Bernard Shaw not very long ago said that good ideals are good but one must not forget that it is often dangerous to be too good. Our foreign policy is in complete opposition to these words of wisdom uttered by two of the world's greatest men." It is obvious that the foreign policy, which is being questioned by Babasaheb is basically concerned with the J&K.

Ambedkar further writes in the statement, "Our quarrel with Pakistan is a part of our foreign policy about which I feel deeply dissatisfied. There are two grounds which have disturbed our relations with Pakistan – one is Kashmir and the other is the condition of our people in East Bengal." He said that the Government of India was giving priority to the matter of Kashmir whereas priority should have been given to the matter of East Bengal. According to media reports the condition of our people in East Bengal is more unbearable than in Kashmir. After expressing concern over the Hindus in East Bengal he turned to Kashmir. His statement on Kashmir can be divided into following sections:

"The issue on which we have been fighting most of the time is, who is in the right and who is in the wrong. The real issue to my mind is not who is right but what is right. Taking that to be the main question, my view has always been that the right solution is to partition Kashmir. Give the Hindu and Buddhist part to India and the Muslim part to Pakistan as we did in the case of India. We are really not concerned with the Muslim part of Kashmir. It is a matter between the Muslims of Kashmir and Pakistan. They may decide the issue as they like. Or if you like, divide into three

Courtesy: Rajpal Rana, Chairman : Ruaral Area Committee North Delhi MCD

parts; the Cease Fire Zone, the Valley and the Jammu-Ladakh Region and have a plebiscite only in the Valley. What I am afraid of is that in the proposed plebiscite, which is to be an overall plebiscite, the Hindus and Buddhists of Kashmir are likely to be dragged into Pakistan against their wishes and we may have to face same problems as we are facing today in East Bengal."

According to Ambedkar's above mentioned statement, referendum, if any, should be conducted only in Kashmir Valley and not in Jammu and Ladakh. There was also a suggestion to divide Kashmir. But what were the reasons behind that suggestion? Ambedkar feared that if referendum was conducted in whole J&K, the outcome may go in favour of Pakistan and the whole state might be given to Pakistan. This would make the condition of the Hindus and Buddhists there worse than the Hindus of East Bengal.

Everybody had the same apprehension because of Kashmir policy of Nehru. Praja Parishad, a political party of J&K, had started agitation in the state because of such apprehensions. Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee too was worried due to the same apprehensions. The matter was serious because the Governor General of India Lord Mountbatten himself repeatedly hatched conspiracies to give J&K to Pakistan. The fear that province may slip out of hand anytime was also looming large because of the closeness of Nehru with the Mountbattens. British were already in favour of giving Bengal and Punjab to Pakistan. The credit that they got both the states divided to prevent them completely going into the hands of Pakistan goes to Master Tara Singh and Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee. Today if half part of Bengal and Punjab are with India it is because of both these leaders. Dr Ambedkar wanted to save the areas inhabited by Hindus and Buddhists by dividing J&K on the pattern of Punjab-Bengal.

Dr Ambedkar wanted to save the areas inhabited by Hindus and Buddhists by dividing Jammu & Kashmir on the pattern of Punjab-Bengal.

Ideally the chapter of J&K should have been closed after the accession of the state into the Indian Union by Maharaja Hari Singh. Because legally Maharaja had the right to do that. But despite knowing that, Nehru unfortunately did not let the matter resolved. He rather gave the right to take a decision on this matter to the forces, which were already indulging in Cold War in the UN. The concept of going out of India by any state with the help of referendum was against the fundamental sentiment of the Indian Constitution. Nehru was making statements all over the country that if the results of the referendum went against India, J&K will not remain a part of the country. That is why many nationalist leaders including Dr Ambedkar were worried about the future of the state especially about the future of Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Gujjars, Shias, etc. In those circumstances by proposing to divide the state Ambedkar was basically expressing his real apprehensions.

At that time Ambedkar used to repeat in his speeches that if we cannot save entire Kashmir, we should at least save our people living there. He regarded Jammu and Ladakh as the land of our own people. Babasaheb would say that Kashmir was ruled by Shudra dynasty, therefore Kashmir is important for Shudras. In those days it was general perception that Nehru, who was blind in the love of Mountbatten and Sheikh, may lose the entire state. Due to his love to Mountbatten, Lady Mountbatten Nehru, even before the announcement of ceasefire, divided the state to save which Maharaja Hari Singh faced strong pressure of Viceroy, threats of Muslim League and Muslim Conference, J&K army general Rajender Singh sacrificed his life and Maqbool Sherwani succumbed to the bullets of Kabalies. He left the Punjabi speaking areas of Jammu, Gilgit-Balitistan and from Poonch to Naushera under the occupation of Pakistan. He was indulging in Muslim appeasement to fulfill the over ambitions of Sheikh Abdullah. Everyone was apprehensive that Nehru would lose the entire J&K and the West-North region would become unsafe.

At that time if Dr Ambedkar was talking about division of the state it was because of all such apprehensions. Not only Babasaheb Ambedkar, many other leaders like Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Dr Rajender Prasad, Master Tara Singh, Pandit Nath Dogra also had similar apprehensions. Nehru was not having a dialogue with the people of Kashmir. Rather he wanted dialogue through the middleman like Sheikh Abdullah. And the middleman was charging fees for it. It insulted the people of Kashmir. Whereas Babasaheb was in favour of direct dialogue with the people of J&K. He seems to be referring to the Muslims of Kashmir in this context only. Babasaheb accepted that Muslim appeasement in J&K would fetch no result. A solution will come out only by staying away from it.

(The writer is a Ambedkar Chair Professor, Himachal Uni. Shimla)

Courtesy: G.S. Goel, Shalimarh Bagh, Delhi-110052

Striving for Excellence

Illiteracy is the worst kind of evil which causes mental slavery, which leads to economic poverty, cultural disability and social backwardness. The emphasis of values in education was agreat contribution of Dr Ambedkar to the Indian Education Policy.

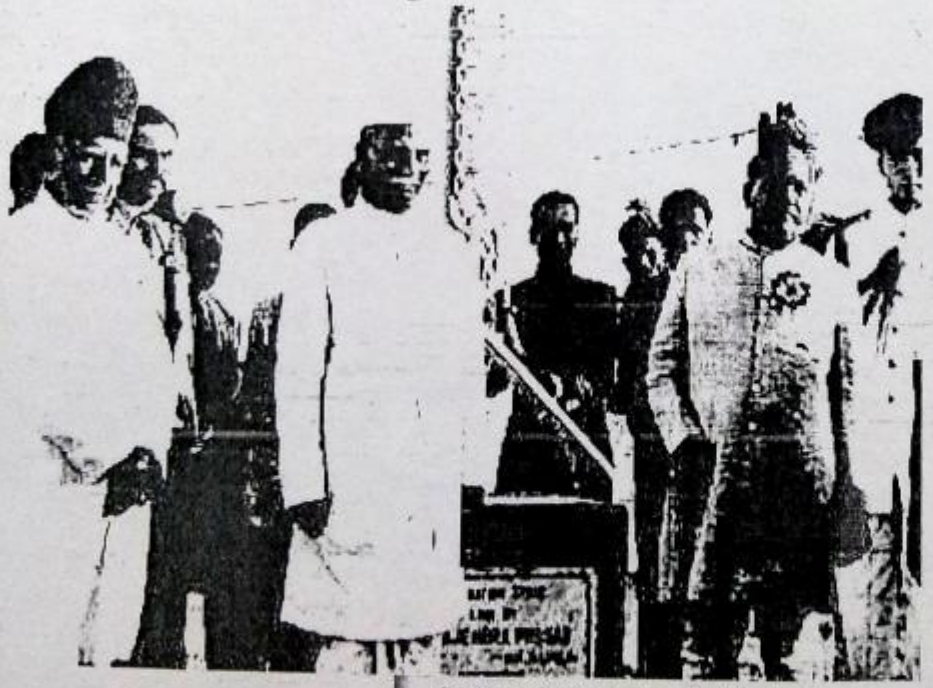
Shyam Atre

Dr Ambedkar was one of the brilliant students ever born on Indian soil. He was very much devoted to education, and wanted to use it as an instrument for the resurgence and transformation of Indian society. He perhaps inherited his educational consciousness from his father Shri Ram Ji Bhai who served the Indian army in the educational core. Ram Ji Bhai paid proper attention to the education of young Bheemrao. Ram Ji Bhai even arranged for the loans to pay his fees and purchase his books. For the higher education of Bheemrao, the King of Vadodara Shri Sayajiraw Gayakvad also gave financial support. While meeting the King, young Bheemrao gave very apt reply when asked about his purpose of higher studies abroad. He had very humbly yet boldly stated that he wanted to study sociology, economics and public finance. And with help of these subjects he would work for the emancipation of our Indian society. This statement of the adolescent Bheemrao impressed the King of Vadoara too much. Having completed his education, Dr Bheemrao Ambedkar really dedicated himself for the cause of social transformation and for bringing equality and freedom in our society. Dr Ambedkar is certainly a source of impression to all those modern students who are running to North America and Europe in search material prosperity.

Having completed his graduation in the year 1913, from Mumbai University, Bheemrao Ambedkar went over to Columbia University for MA and PhD degrees. During that period, he presented his papers in different seminars and conferences of the European universities. Later, he also had occasion to study in London University, London School of Economics and other internationally reputed institutions. He was awarded the degrees of MSc, DSc, LLD, Bar at Law etc. In the year 1952, he was awarded DLit. by the Columbia University. His dissertations and theses were published in the form of various books that became very popular world-wide, and these books contain his socio-economic and political views.

After returning to India he studied the condition of our society and wrote his views and recommendations to rectify the ills of Indian society. He died the age of 67, and just before his death he had completed a book on *'Buddha Dharma'*. Later on his complete works came out in 15,000 pages and 22 parts.

After coming from England, in the first phase of his contribution in India, Dr Ambedkar joined the Sidnaham College of Mumbai, where he taught economics for 2 years. Later on, he became the Professor of



Dr Rajendra Prasad (centre) laying the foundation stone of Milind College in 1950 with Dr Ambedkar (right)

Courtesy: Rajeev Gupta, Social Worker, Burari, Delhi-110084

Mercantile Law in a private institute. In the year 1928, he joined a government law college as Professor, and there after 1935, he became the Principal of the same college. During this period he became popular as a sincere and disciplined Professor and Administrator. His teaching was very effective and powerful because of his deep knowledge and forceful oration. His communication skill, power of language and extensive knowledge was reflected in his lectures. He had especial command over English language. He not only taught his subject very well but also guided the students in their character-building. As a Principal of the Degree College he left an indelible mark in the academic affairs of the university as well.

Along with his teaching profession Dr Ambedkar also taught practical skills and social wisdom to his pupils. He had proper understanding of social and political issues. It wrote about his recommendations about social problems through his periodicals such as *'Mook Nayak'*, *'Bahiskrit Bharat'*, *'Janta'* etc. He also participated in social reformation movements though the organisation like 'Bahiskrit Hitkarni Sabha', 'Samaj Samta Sangh' etc. Through his powerful speeches, he disseminated his ideas in many council and conventions of Dalit and Untouchable Community. In the year 1927, his speeches became very popular when he participated in Mahad Council and Choudar Talab Satyagrah. He was the founder of Dalit Liberation Movement. He also expressed his views in the effective speeches made through the All India Radio – Mumbai and Delhi, BBC London and Voice of America. Many of his ideas expressed in government community and forums threw light on the social and political issues. He also participated in many national and state deliberations and through all this created public awareness. His contribution to the restructuring of Indian society is certainly great. His message was not only universal and permanent but also had a charismatic effect on people's mind. His contribution as a public educator will always be rememberd.

Dr Ambedkar started 'Peoples Education Society' and established colleges for giving higher education to Dalit samaj in Mumbai and Aurangabad. These colleges were the not only the centers of knowledge but also of liberation for the students of untouchable class. While running these institutions his emphasis was on transparency, truthfulness and far-sightedness. His vision of an ideal social and educational institution was such, where the public money would never be misused and where the accounts are always made available to whosoever wanted to check it.

Dr Ambedkar insisted that proper arrangement of hostels, Libraries and Laboratories should be made for the dalit students. However, while the making appointment of teachers in his institutions he never took caste considerations, but always demanded better qualification and merit. He wanted his students to acquire the best possible knowledge though the best possible teachers. These can be verified even today by going thorugh the list and panels of teachers and Principals who worked in his institutions. Thus, he created model educational institutions which could be replicated by the people in other places as well.

In his address to the college professors, Dr Ambedkar would always say that they should be so fully engaged in their teaching that they have no time to think of the familiy. They should not only be scholars of their subjects but also be capable of making their learning recreational and joyful. He also told the teachers that every generation is an independent nation and therefore they needed to make their own rules of life. No previous generations have an authority to impose their rules to future generations. This he considered to be the spirit of true democracy.

In an article of 'Bahiskrit Bharat', Dr Ambedkar writes, "The mind of students must be diverted to social interest because the schools are factories for making good citizens. The quality of the product of these factories will depend on the quality of the foremen."

School as an Educational Institution

Dr Ambedkar used to say that school is a sacred institution where students not only gain knowledge but also gain character. Therefore, the school must have discipline and transparency in its affairs. If there are financial irregularities in schools, that will have adverse impact on the life of new generation. In an article of *'Bahiskrit Bharat'*, Dr Ambedkar writes, "The mind of students must be diverted to social interest because the schools are factories for making good citizens. The quality of the product of these factories will depend on the quality of the foremen."

Through 'Peoples Education Society', Baba Sahab created ideal educational institutions. If we go though the bye-laws of these educational institutions, we can notice the ideal policies and practices maintained by him. His emphasis on the appointed of meritorious teachers regardless of their caste is an example of this. He also suggested that

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Student should pursue their studies very sincerely. You have done a good thing , that you came to see me before leaving Delhi. I do not want victory at the cost of my students. You should return the ticket and do not come to Bombay for canvassing. You are conducting research for PhD in Agriculture, which is very important subject. –Babasaheb

even the political parties may have a network of good educational institutions. He supported the system of co-education, saying that the real test of discipline and self-restraint can be possible only in the system of co-education.

The Responsibility of the Students

Babasaheb taught the students about the values of self-confidence, discipline, humility and truthfulness. He said that without these qualities all knowledge is futile. Even though he wanted his students to be socially conscious, he never wanted them to join politics, because that would cause greater loss to them. He said that the students should focus not only in obtaining degree, but also in acquiring knowledge, wisdom and character. He said that the modern students are lacking in analytical ability, logical discussion and deeper understanding of the subjects. On one occasion while addressing the students of Siddhartha Degree College, Babasaheb said that the students must have vision, thinking ability and problem-solving skills. He further said that this mental power must be used in solving the problems being faced by our country today. He wanted the students to make their intervention whenever and wherever they thought the politicians are at fault.

Teachers Qualifications

Dr Ambedkar was a good teacher himself and therefore he knew what can be expected from an ideal teacher. He believed that education is an on-going process and that the teacher is its foundation. Therefore, the teachers must have curiosity and aptitude for learning. In the attainment of knowledge his formulae was to read, to think and to contemplate. He applied his educational philosophy in his own life, and taught those principles to others as well. Thus, he could become not only a good teacher but also a good social reformist. He wanted the teachers to gather knowledge from all sources. The teacher should also be able to judge what is right and what is wrong. Then only he can guide students and make them better students. According to Ambedkar, the teachers have a great role in nation building.

The Educational Policy

Dr Ambedkar never wrote systemically about his education policy. However, his views on education have been expressed through his periodicals and through his speeches given on different occasions in different forums and communities. About his educational policy he spoke in the higher educational institutions, Mumbai Vidhyapeeth Senate, Mumbai Assembly, Governor Council, Constitution Assembly and Parliament. Dr Ambedkar wanted the educational system to be autonomous and independent. No individual or political institutions should have direct interference in education. The education system should not be under the control of local self-governments too. He stressed upon the value of primary education and literacy. It is needed with the same urgency as we need the food to eat. It is the responsibility of our government to ensure that everyone gets it in time. On the basis of available statistics he mentioned that 82.5% people in Hindu society are illiterate and 98% of them belong to the backward class. He believed that the main cause of educational backwardness lies in social and economic backwardness. This is why he recommended for special facilities to the backward and deprived communities. He said that giving the scholarship was not sufficient. The government must establish good hostels, training centers, 'Balvady' and 'Sanskar Kendra' etc for creating conducive atmosphere for the students of the deprived communities. The policy of reservation incorporated in Indian constitution had its seeds in the social and educational philosophy of Dr Ambedkar.

Education is source of social transformation, and therefore education must prepare itself for change. We must never close our eyes to this social objective of education. Education is the great source of social sensitivity and social awareness, and no society can progress without these two. Education can also remove social disparities. Education brings out the dormant powers of human beings and education also develops the social and moral frame of the

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citizens. That is why Dr Ambedkar considered education as the foundation of all culture and civilisation.

Dr Ambedkar said that the ideal human character is formed by learning, wisdom, compassion, humility and friendship. Without these supplementary qualities, pure learning or knowledge will have no value and the society cannot benefit. The combination of knowledge and wisdom opens the door of self-realisation. He emphasised not only on the acquisition of information and skills but also on the values and strength of character.

Mahatma Buddha said that knowledge is light and Babasaheb also accepted this definition. He thought that this light should inspire social, economic and political revolution. Education must have social orientation, he said. It must guide us to the path of freedom from exploitation. Education is the great instrument for the upliftment of downtrodden. Education opens the doors of their self-respect and self-dependence. He said that for raising the life standard of the downtrodden, not democracy our society must be based upon equality, values and character. This is possible though education.

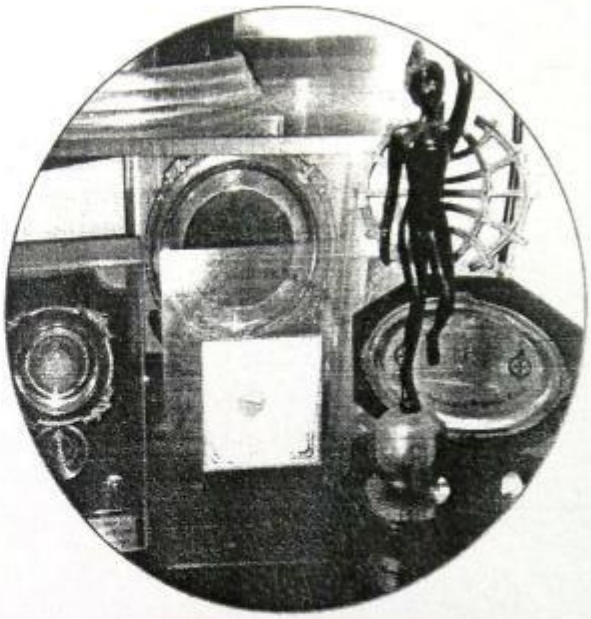
Illiteracy is the worst kind of evil which causes mental slavery, economic poverty, cultural disability and social backwardness. That is why our society lost the power to resist the foreign invasions for along time. Thus we can say that the emphasis of values in education was agreat contribution of Dr. Ambedkar to the Indian Education Policy.

Dr Ambedkar was very studious. In the libraries of foreign universities he studied for 18 hours together just by eating some slices of bread and a cup of milk. He purchased thousands of books and studied them minutely. In most of the books his jottings in the margin are ample proof of his sincere studies. When Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya wanted these books from BHU library, Dr Ambedkar denied, saying that giving away his books was like giving away his life and soul to someone. Had the devotees of Baba Sahab followed his path of knowledge worship, our country would have progressed to a great extent.

Ambedkar taught people to educate, organise and agitate. He thought that education and society are inseparable because education is the basis of social and cultural development. There is no other medium for creating a society based on equality. Without equality there is no chance for freedom. These social goals can be archived by education only. These ideas and views of Dr Ambedkar on education and social change will certainly inspire our present generation.

(The writer is an educationist and author of Vivekananda and Ambedkar in Marathi)

Courtesy: Amit Jain, Azadpur, Delhi-110033



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Beyond Class Struggle

» Anupam

Baba Saheb Ambedkar proclaimed himself as a Hindu social reformist. And the nature of struggle should be not between touchables and untouchables, but between Hindu conservatism and Hindu progressivism.

In the thoughts of great men and women we can find the effect of his early days in life – the contemporary challenges and circumstances, times and place etc. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar is no exception. He established himself as a great visionary leader even though he was born in the utmost adverse circumstances when the unworthy condition of casteism and untouchability prevailed. He had risen above casteism and wanted to uproot the evils of conservative Indian society for making it progressive and enlightened. Even in those days of adversities, he used to proclaim, "I am a Hindu social reformist. And the nature of struggle should be not between touchables and untouchables, but between Hindu conservatism and Hindu progressivism."

In such times when the labour movement was on the rise in our country, Babasaheb felt that most of the labour leaders did not have workers' interest in mind and they had their own were political motive. In order to benefit from the new legislation of state's autonomy declared in 1935, all the political groups were in a hurry, preparing for elections during 1937. Therefore, he distanced himself from them.

Instead of joining other organisations, Dr Ambedkar wanted to make the workers aware of their rights and their circumstances. He wanted to launch a fierce struggle against the exploitation of labour. Moreover, according to him, the socio-economic conditions of workers was not such that they could afford an strike. They would face starvation. Due to this the communists had declared Dr Ambedkar as the enemy of labour community.

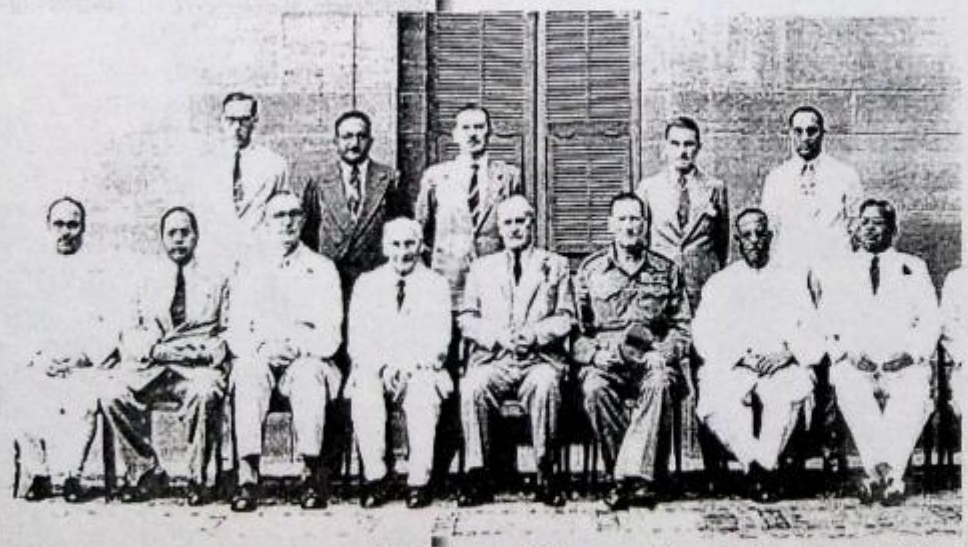
However, in the 1920s the communist labour movement had also become very popular in the country. There was a call for strike in the years 1924, 1925, 1928 and 1929. About 75,000 workers of 43 textile factories had joined the strike. Again, there was a joint strike of textile workers in the year 1934.

Swatantra Majdoor Dal

Under the above circumstances, Dr. Ambedkar decided to form his own party in the year 1936 and it was named as 'Swatantra Majdoor Dal'. He also released a manifesto of his political outfit, wherein it was assured that strong legislation would be framed for regulating labour rights, their employment, dismissal, salary hike, maximum duty hours, provision for leave with full pay, residential facilities etc.

Organising Railway Workers

On 12th February, 1938 while addressing 20,000 Railway workers from untouchable community in Manmad, Dr Ambedkar had said that "I used to supply tiffin box to my relatives working in factories and elsewhere while I was an adolescent, and therefore I am aware of the problems and diffi-



Dr Ambedkar (sitting second from left) as Labour Minister in Viceroy Lord William's Executive Council, 1942

Courtesy: Laxman Roller Flour Mills Pvt. Ltd., Chandigarh-160102

culties faced by the labour community. Earlier we used to unite as 'dalits' and untouchables, but now we have to unite as labour and workers. It is said that I am an enemy of the workers, but the fact is that capitalism and Brahmanism are the real enemy of workers. And I believe that Brahmanism consists in the lack of freedom, equality and fraternity. And we have to fight against it"

Problems of Untouchable Labour

Dr Ambedkar was very much concerned for the untouchable workers. He had said that "There are many areas of work where workers are discriminated because of their caste, as they are considered untouchables. There are many departments in textile industry where untouchable workers are not employed. In Railways, they are destined to rot as gang-men through out their lives. They are not deployed even as coolies. The untouchable labours are underpaid, and they are never promoted. During recession they are the first to be removed, and when the demand increases, they are the last to be employed." (Dr Ambedkar aur Samajik Kranti ki Yatra, page-253)

Marxian Theory not Applicable in India

Babasaheb used to say that "The master-servant' type of division in society, and the class struggle based upon that as suggested by Karl Marx, doesn't exist in India. This kind of clear-cut dichotomy has never been found in our country. It is not at all possible to form a common union of workers here. How can we form an organized common labour union here by joining all working community, unless we can eradicate the social evils of untouchability and disparity. I have never heard a labour leader speak against these social issues."

Regarding communist movement, Dr Ambedkar had a clear view that the communists exploit the labour community for their vested political gains. He used to say very categorically that "It is just not possible for me to associate with the Communists. I am staunch enemy of Communists." (Babasaheb Ambedkar: Jeevan Charit page-282)

Differences with Congress party

Addressing a meeting in Chiplun in 16th May 1938, Babasaheb said that "I have never been drawn to Gandhi's charisma and charm. Jawahar Lal and Subhash Chandra Bose got overpowered by Gandhi, but I was never impressed. "Even if I join Congress in future I will make my own vision and quality felt there. My 'Khoti Abolition Bill' is pending for the last ten months and the Congress has put it on back-burner. During this period a prominent leader of Central province Dr NB Khare has been neglected as the one who creates problems. Even Gandhi was opposed to Khare because he was insisting on taking a Harijan Minister in the Central Province."

There are many areas of work where workers are discriminated because of their caste, as they are considered untouchables. There are many departments in textile industry where untouchable workers are not employed. In Railways, they are destined to rot as gang-men through out their lives. They are not deployed even as coolies. The untouchable labours are underpaid, and they are never promoted. During recession they are the first to be removed, and when the demand increases, they are the last to be employed.

Addressing a meeting at the 'Servant of India Society', Dr NB Khare had said that the power gained by a government through majority is a source of corruption. And gaining absolute majority and power corrupts absolutely." Dr Ambedkar reminded people of the significance of Dr Khare's statement. And its impact is felt by the people even today.

Industrial Dispute Bill

The Industrial Dispute Bill was brought in the Bombay Assembly in 15th September, 1968, and Dr Khare opposed it saying that this will suppress and ban the labour strikes and thus the workers will not be able to raise their voice. This bill, if passed, will deprive the workers of their fundamental rights and therefore it is unconstitutional, he had added.

Dr Ambedkar collaborated with other workers' union of that time and gave a call for strike to oppose it, and thus

succeeded in his objective of ensuring workers' rights. He even did not hesitate in joining hands with communists, when the occasion arose in the interest of workers.

However, in due course the Congress government managed to get the bill passed, because Congress was in the interest of industrialists and factory owners. The labour unions opposed the bill calling it the 'black law'. On 7th November 1938 the 'Swatantra Majdoor Dal', 'Mill Majdoor Union' and 60 other workers groups gave a call for strike.

A day before the strike was to begin, 80,000 workers gathered for a meeting at Majdoor Maidan, Bombay. Jamanadas was made the President of Steering Committee, and Ambedkar, Dange, Neemkar, Mirajkar and Pradhan were made the members of steering commitee. About 90 percent of the striking volunteers belonged to Ambedkar's 'Swatantra Majdoor Dal'. This strike became so powerful that Swami Sahajananda, the popular farmer leader of the Joint Province went all the way to Mumbai to meet Dr. Ambedkar.

Sahajananda made a fervent appeal to Dr. Ambedkar to join Congress Party for uprooting the British colonialism. Dr. Ambedkar had clearly stated, "Had Congress really been fighting the British rule, I would have joined it, but unfortunately it did not do so. The Congress party is using its political and constitutional powers to serve the capitalists and protect the vested interests of factory owners. The Congress hasn't bothered for the welfare of farmers and labourers. I cannot join such an organisation."

Babasaheb ensured the participation of workers in the formulation of industrial policies. He organised four tripartite conventions during his regime as Labour Minister.

Labour Minister before Joining the Constituent Assembly

During 1942-46, Dr Ambedkar worked as Labour Minister in the Council of Viceroy. In this short period he made major contribution to the upliftment of dalits and labour community. He coordinated with the industrialists and labour unions to formulate the policies that would benefit workers immensely, and help the owners too. For example –

1. The policies for social security of the workers.
2. Formulating labour policies and creating dialogue between labour unions and industrialists.
3. Making adequate legislation in favour of workers and executing them.
4. The amicable settlements of the industrial disputes.

Baba Saheb ensured the participation of workers in the formulation of industrial policies. He organised four tripartite conventions during his regime as Labour Minister. The important issues taken up in these conventions were –

1. Minimum Wages for workers
2. The duty hours as per Factory Act
3. Provident fund for workers
4. Provision for cheaper food-grains
5. Canteen in factories
6. The facilities for rest of workers

About 25 laws were enacted during Ambedkar's tenure as Labour Minister. The posts of Chief Labour Commissioner, State Labour Commissioner and Labour Inspector were created and appointments were made on his initiative. For women workers he made special provisions including the provision for maternity leave.

Unfortunately, proper evaluation of Dr Ambedkar's work as Labour Minister has never been done. The ideas and thoughts of Dr Ambedkar concerning workers of organised and unorganised sector are still valid and relevant today. It is worth considering how we can relate the former times with the circumstances of our own times, and apply those policies for further improving the conditions of workers in organised and unorganised sectors.

(The writer is Organising Secretary, BMS, UP unit)

Two Stalwarts

Dr Suvarna Rawal

Amongst those who shaped the destiny of modern India Mahatma Gandhi – Father of the Nation, and Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar figure most prominently. Their influence is still visible not only in India but abroad also. The societies that drew inspiration from these two leaders differ. Gandhi's name is associated with India's freedom struggle while Ambedkar is invariably linked to social movements aimed at eradicating social ills of the Indian society like untouchability, providing social justice, and standing for the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Gandhi's path of freedom was political while Ambedkar treaded the most difficult path of social transformation with emancipating India from the curse of untouchability. Gandhi was considered as a representative of the established class while Ambedkar was known as representative of the Dalits.

The various facets of the lives of these two great leaders can be topics of public discussion and discourses. Those thinkers from among the caste Hindus are inclined towards Gandhi as compared to those from the Dalit communities towards Dr Ambedkar, in the most natural way. The Dalit thinkers normally take recourse to love, respect, and foundations of life in course of their discourses their initial aggressiveness and revolutionary spirit notwithstanding. Their agony for the neglect and injustices Babasaheb had to confront in his lifetime finds expression in their speeches and this agony is seen getting converted into their anger towards the caste Hindus.

Gandhi headed a movement called the Congress. He was religious in his nature; a Sanatani Hindu, having faith in the 'Chaturvarnya System'. The Hindu society was rendered spineless and divided due to the practice of untouchability. However, Gandhi did not give priority to this reality. He felt that the problem of untouchability was the internal matter of the society and could be resolved after independence. The general societal perception was also the same. Gandhi has a wider acceptability and popularity pervading all the barriers, while Ambedkar has a more influence and popularity among the Dalit sections of the society.

All social organisations know Gandhi and accept him but his life has more influence on people's psyche than his actual work. However, no public organisation could move away from Dr Ambedkar's thoughts. His thoughts and approach work as a guiding light for various organisations and groups striving for

Dr Ambedkar and Gandhi ji both were national leaders and focused on nation's interest but Gandhi ji represented established class while Ambedkar represented dalits.

social justice amongst different depressed social sections.

Dr Ambedkar was born in an untouchable family and he had experienced the inhuman treatment meted out to them in his lifetime. His journey from Bhimrao to Babasaheb was full of troubles, exciting and surprising. I feel that some of the instances in this period had casted a deep impression on his psyche which in the later years became his life mission. One question that haunted him the most from his childhood was "What is the difference between an untouchable and other person? God has created all people as equals. Then what is that that makes me different from other children or other persons?" He searched for the answer. He struggled hard to obtain education, intellect and knowledge and toiled hard to achieve his target. Even after returning with higher qualifications from England, he had to face the social stigma of untouchability. All the barriers of his patience were broken. With tears in his eyes he asked unto himself: "If I am to suffer to this extent just because I am born in an untouchable family, what would be happening to those millions who are born in such families and who are ignorant, uneducated and illiterate? Here animals are treated with love and respect but untouchables are deprived of their fundamental rights."

Gandhi and Ambedkar did not believe in personality image worship. No one would deny the contribution of Gandhi in nation building. However, his concepts of God, prayer, vows, inner voice, repentance, fasting etc. are debatable as he often used to mention them as in his writings.

This is the background of his social movement and activities. Whenever I write or speak on these issues I feel pain in my heart. I feel that the movement started by Dr Ambedkar was aimed at removing the malady of the Indian society from its roots. His intention was to make the entire Indian society socially strong, healthy. It was an effort to make the society unblemished.

Gandhi gave the call for 'Swaraj' in year 1920 and sounded the bugle for non-cooperation movement against the British. Gandhi belonged to the established section. His world of experience was different. His effort to involve each and every one in the struggle for freedom and good governance remarkable. All the leaders of that time were invariably associated with the Congress because Congress was the only organisation of independence movement. Pre-independence Congress was a national thought process and flow led by Gandhi. The same Congress was viewed as a Hindu movement. The people with whom Babasaheb was fighting were members of the Congress. Gandhi himself was a Sanatani, religious minded and sensitive Hindu. He believed in Chaturvarnya system, castes etc, and believed that no other varna existed other than the four varnas. Hindu dharma has given a scientific basis to the natural process of varnashram in human society. Accordingly, no one has authority to change his varna as per his whims, and those who do not follow his varna by birth he was considered as insulting his heredity.

In spite of this thinking when he saw Hindus in South Africa being discriminated on racial basis, Gandhi was disturbed and sad. On May 22nd, 1894 Natal Indian Congress was established with Gandhi as its secretary. He wrote an open letter to all the members of legislature in which he mentioned the discrimination meted out the Indians on the basis of color. Different reactions were received from the White people. There was one open letter which clearly opposed the injustices on Indians. It mentioned that there are liberal people in Africa. They will accept your submission. But how the higher castes Hindus are behaving with low caste people in Hindustan? How the Shudras are being treated? The writer suggested that you must put your own house in order first and then advice the White people of other countries to behave properly. This letter was an eye-opener for Gandhi. He decided to remove untouchability from its roots in Indian society. But this was not on his priority list. As a way to remorse and repentance Gandhi performed a role of 'Bhangi' in his ashrams, but the basis of his thought were the principles of truth and non-violence.

Gandhi and Ambedkar did not believe in the hero worship. No one would deny the contribution of Gandhi in nation building. However, his concepts of God, prayer, vows, inner voice, repentance, fasting etc. are debatable as he often used to mention them as in his writings.

On the contrary, Ambedkar's thought was founded on integrated approach of scientific beliefs, modern culture and industrial development. He obtained education from foreign universities but being dedicated towards the motherland and its people he always had in his mind the thought of development and welfare of his people. He had studied many subjects but sociology was his favourite subject. Besides, he studied economics, political science, anthropology, history, philosophy, etc. Therefore he could multi

On September 24, 1932, Dr Ambedkar and Gandhi ji reached and understanding which became famous Poona Pact. According to the Pact, the separate electorate demand was replaced with special concessions like reserved seats in the regional Legislative Assemblies and Central Council of States.

–Babasaheb Ambedkar

dimensionally think for the future of the country. His mission for the country and his compassion for the Dalits was the expression of his thoughts and vision. Whatever subject he approached had clarity and farsightedness. Anyone who studied his thoughts and movements, would understand how Ambedkar was engrossed in social principles and thoughts. Swantratyveer Savarkar once said in his speech: "The qualities of love, affection, determination and dedication visible in his personality were due to his birth in an untouchable family. These qualities are normally absent in those like us born in Savarna (caste Hindu) families." Savarkar praised each movement and every agitation of Dr Ambedkar aimed at eradication of utouchability.

Ambedkar's views on emancipation of Dalits were entirely different. He says: "Emancipation of Dalits is a national mission. It is against the interest of the nation and against development to keep one fifth of the society crippled and disabled. The practice of untouchability had its impact on the followers of Islam and Christianity. The society will gain inner strength with the completely uprooting social stigma of untochability. Besides, there will be remarkable change in the psyche of the other sections of the society. The inspiration of my mission is not only temporary welfare of the country but it is associated with the fundamental social revolution of India. This will strengthen equality, liberty and fraternity and removal of untouchability is the first step towards this mission of social revolution." For him, the emancipation of Dalits was instrumental in establishing social equality. He used both boycott and confrontationists approaches for the same.

On the concept of social equality he used to say, "Dalits should be given all those facilities the caste Hindus are given. We do not want anything on loan. Any facility that hurts our self esteem is not acceptable. We will not bow down before any injustice, physical atrocities and assaults." This was his supreme determination.

Agitations have a special importance in Babasaheb's life. The basic theme of all his agitations was social justice. He would often say that his programs were aimed at removing the injustice meted out to the Dalits. Some may see caste ism in his argument but it was a protective shield for him. "Our demand is for equal rights, in fact, our fight is against the very principle of special rights. We know that the water of Mahad tank is not like nectar and the untouchables are not eager to drink it neither our entry into Kalaram Temple is a guarantee for our 'moksha'. We are the citizens of this country and part and parcel of Hindu society. Hence, as the Savarnas have the freedom at public places so should the untouchables be granted similar freedom." He wanted to remove internal disparities in the Hindu society.

At the Round Table Conference, he demanded for separate electorates for Dalits. Gandhi took a very strong objections to this. Gandhi was a political wizard while Ambedkar was the messiah of social revolution. There were strong differences between Gandhi and Ambedkar on this issue. The entire country was curious on this issue of Gandhi's fast and Ambedkar's insistence. Everybody was concerned about the fast and blaming Ambedkar for this mess. Finally, Ambedkar withdrew his demand of separate electorates for the Dalits to save Gandhi's life.

The agreement between the two stalwarts was known as the Yerwada or Poona Pact. Though Gandhi ended his fast, he was still thinking about Ambedkar's demand for separate electorates. Depressed Classes Council also discussed this demand. Gandhi wrote to Samuel Hover, "I am not against giving dalits representation in the legislatures. I am in favour of enrolment of names of all the Dalits irrespective of their education, property and name etc. in the electoral rolls. But my intention is that they should not cut them off from the Hindu society."

This indicates to the fact that Gandhi and Ambedkar both wanted a cohesive Hindu society and tirelessly worked towards it in their own way. The two had one more virtue in common and that was their faith and commitment towards Dharma. Within Dharma, Gandhi's line of thinking was not in favour of Dalits while that of Ambedkar's thinking was not very inspiring for caste Hindus. Gandhi's thoughts were based on Varnashram and Castes would not be acceptable to Dr Ambedkar at any cost. He was dead against Varnashram and caste system. In his book "What the Congress and Gandhi did for Dalits?", he says, "The social ideal of Gandhism is one amongst caste system or varna system. It is difficult to state which of the two would be accepted by Gandhism. But one thing is certain that social ideal is not democracy. Because if we compare castes and varna systems with democracy we find that both are anti-democracy systems."

Therefore, Gandhism could not generate hope for dalits. Babasaheb wrote in the support of this statements: "This unholy custom related to Hindu Dharma created fear in the minds of dalits. As it is Gandhism is like a dungeon cell for the untouchables."

If we analyse both Gandhi and Ambedkar, both of them were strong nationalists and patriots. Both had a better understanding of the socially outdated customs and rituals, both had accorded priority to social justice in their respective agenda, but their approaches were different.

Untouchability is a scourge for the Hindu society, Gandhi used to say Dr Ambedkar commented on this in his "Mukti Kaun Pathe". He said: "Some people say that untouchability is a blot on Hindu society. But such things have no meaning. It is unfortunate that no Hindu thinks Hindu Dharma is polluted. The untouchables will have to work to remove this blot from the Hindu society. With this Babasaheb worked to generate self-pride, identity, and self-reliance. Gandhi advised Dalits to introspect for spiritual purification while Ambedkar used boycott against this. Dr Ambedkar strongly protested against the word 'Harijan' coined by Gandhi for the unotouchables.

Babasaheb suggested a string of means to eradicate the differences between caste Hindus and Dalits. He was of the view that one-sided efforts to eradicate untouchabiity would not create a healthy atmosphere in the country. It was also necessary to bring about the change at the social level. This called for creating an atmosphere where free access is available for untouchables on all public platforms.

If we analyse both Gandhi and Ambedkar at a micro level we find that both of them were strong nationalists. Both had a better understanding of the outdated customs and rituals in the society, both had accorded priority to social justice in their agenda, but their approach was different. They had differences of opinion on all social issues. Gandhi was a political leader while Ambedkar treaded the path of knowledge and social justice. Both were aware of each others role. Gandhi drew support from all sections of the society and more so from the rich. Ambedkar could evoke support of the common people by kindling a new hope in their heart with his knowledge and hard work.

When Ambedkar declared that though he was born as Hindu he would not die as one, whole country was taken a back. This he did after denial o. entry into the Kalaram temple at Nasik. The atmosphere was surcharged with emotions like anger, hatred, pain, fear, etc. Gandhi talked to Ambedkar and calmed him down and asked him to follow a restraint. Gandhi assured him all the support to restore self-pride of dalits. Ambedkar, also promised him that he would leave Hindu Dharma but would see to it that the least damage was done. When he embraced Buddhist faith in Deekshabhumi, Nagpur on October 1956 he said "I had kept my promise to Gandhi ji".

Gandhi too was aware of Ambedkar's greatness. British left this country and India became independent. And the country felt the need for its own constitution. Pt. Nehru, Sardar Patel etc. were thinking as to who would be the perfect person to draft the constitution. They were thinking of seeking services of the experts from abroad. Gandhi came to know about this and asked Nehru why he could not find a proper person in the vast country like India. He immediately suggested the name of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar. Dr Ambedkar also responded positively and completed the task with hard work and toil. He made a blue print for the future India and Indian citizens. In other words he created a new 'Manusmruti' or 'Bheemsmruti' for new India. This has saved the country from many turbulances. The country would always be indebted to Babasaheb for his contribution to this land and its people.

(The Writer is a President of Bhatake Vimukta Praishad, Maharashtra)

Contexualising Reforms

Ramshankar Katheria

Bharat Ratna Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar was a true visionary (kaljayi yugdrishta). In today's era, whatever serious issues disturb us in the social, national and cultural milieu, their practical solutions can be found in Babasaheb's thoughts and views. What however is unfortunate is that these views were never seen in a wider perspective by us. By viewing them through the colooured lens of the caste system, they were treated as having little or no value at all. Had his personality, thoughts and contributions been evaluated within a national perspective, we could have located the answers to many of the ills that plague us today.

At various periods of time, Babasaheb guided the soicety and the nation with his social, political, economic and education-related views. The original, progressive and scientific perspective seen in his thoughts places him in an important position among the world's leading philosophers.

In the social perspective, Babasaheb's prime worry was social inequality. Throughout his life he laid emphasis on equality among all human beings, irrespective of caste, creed or class. He firmly believed that no man could be deprived of his social and economic rights merely on the basis of his birth or a system. He considered caste divisions completely alien to divisions based on one's occupation. In the annual convention of the Jat-Paat Todak Mandal in 1936 at Lahore, he said, while presenting his views, "The caste system is not merely a division of labour but is completely different to division of labour. It is an hierarchical arrangement in which division of labour is done in the order of one upon another." He was well aware of the adverse effects of the caste system and on this same occasion, pointed towards it, "Economic development is not possible through the caste system. Neither has there been any improvement in the breed or race and neither can it ever happen through the existing caste system. What becomes clearly evident from this is that the entire Hindu society had been destroyed and devastated."

In today's world, we all are aware of the caste system, no matter in which form is exists, and are familiar with the harm it can cause to social harmonly. On May 31 1936, Ambedkar, in a memorable speech at Bomay, announced while giving precedence to social independence over political freedom for the Dalit community, "Instead of political freedom, social freedom is of prime importance to the Untouchables. So long as you do not get social freedom, all the provisions made for your freedom hold no meaning." Despite all claims to growth and progress and to constitutional and legal means, the question that raises it head in

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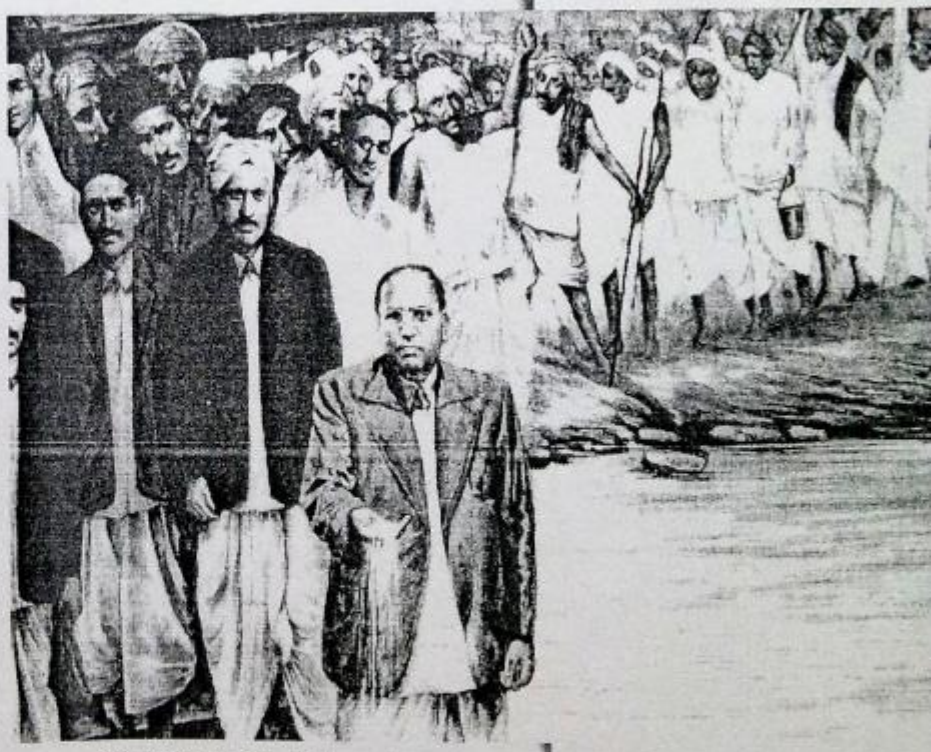

A Portrait depicting Satyagraha

Courtesy: Laxman Roller Flour Mills Pvt. Ltd., Chandigarh-160102

front of us is how far have we progressed since then?

Babasaheb's economic views are not only progresive but entirely practical too. From the point of education, economics was his field of specialisation. His Ph.D. and D. Sc. degrees obtained from Columbia University were in economics also. In the speeches given by him througout his life, his economic views becomes visibly apparent. From 1942 to 1946, he administered the Labour and Energy Department in the Viceroy's Executive Council. During this period, he presented many constructive views on issues related to labour along with those concerning provision of electricity, development of rivers, etc. He believed that it was essential to have multi-dimensional laws so that water sources could be harnessed for multifarious activities. On February 24 1927, while participating in a debate in the Bombay Legislative Council, he said, "People's prosperity is the nation's biggest asset. They should not be made hapless or turned into beggars. The nation which makes its people poor becomes a beggar itself." In the field of agriculture, he often expressed his concern at the system of collection of taxes from farmers. During the same session, while expressing his views, he said, "Our final aim is to remove taxation over worthless holdings. Nevertheless, we have felt since the very beginning that graded tax should be imposed on large agricultural holdings. Due to usurpation of agricultural land from the hands of the tiller, land had fallen into the hands of landholders who do no farming but let out their land on rental basis." Such a view is living proof of his progressive thoughts on economic issues.

Babasaheb's political vision focussed on ascertainment of social justice. Democracy in his view was an ideal arrangement of governance but he favoured social democracy over political. Social democracy gathers sustenance from absolute social equality. That is why he believed that parliamentary democracy had ignored social equality by imparting greater value to political independence. While giving a speech in Pune on 22 December 1952, he said, "The first condition for the success of a democracy is that there should be no inequality in society. There must be no Dalit class, nor any exploited class. There should be no class which reels under the burden of the caste system. Every class division gives rise to a violent revolution and for which not even demoracy can provide a cure."

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–Babasaheb Ambedkar

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Highlighting the genuine features of a democracy, he said in support of political democracy in a speech on 15 December 1938, "A democracy which makes the labour its slave, keeps them deprived of organisation, strength and intelligence, then I shall say it is not a democracy but a sham of democracy." Today, despite the direction in which we are going despite living in a democratic environment, we need to rethink in the context of Babasaheb's political views.

Babasaheb, besides being a world-renowned economist, was a well-known professor too. When we consider his views on education, we find he was greatly perturbed at the exisitng education system right from primary to university-level education. In a discussion at the Bombay Legislative Council, he said, whle clarifying the objectives of primary education,"The aim of primary education is that

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a child who joins a primary school should leave the school only on completing his education and remain literate for the rest of his life." Criticising the commercialisation of education, he said during the same debate, "The Education Department is not such that it can be run on the basis of demanding as much fees from students as much as it spends on them. Education should be made universally available at reasonable cost through every possible means." He was opposed to the popular practice of offering scholarships to students because he felt that parents of poor children, instead of spending on their children's education, preferred to spend the money on fulfilling their family's needs. On the contrary, he favoured setting up of hostels run by the government or organisations engaged in the welfare of the deprived class. During the discussion he presented the following significant suggestions on higher education:

1. Role of universities and institutes of higher learning should be different.
2. Universities should bear the burden of the cost of education
3. Students should be allowed to attend the lectures of any professor in any college.

He very often used to give such valuable suggestions. Today it is necessary to study them seriously and take suitable action for their implementation.

Dr Ambedkar (L) with Dadasehab Gaikwad (R)

Time has arrived to explore Babasaheb's ocean of thoughts and make the nation rich through use of his invaluable gems of advice. By viewing them within restricitve boundaries, the nation has suffered from serious harm. His views which are purposeful and creative in any particular aspect are relevant in the similar dimension. They have all the more significant over the passage of time. Hence in the process of national growth, implementation of his sugggestions should be tackled on a warfooting.

> **A form and a method of government whereby revolutionary changes into social life are brought about without bloodshed. That is the real test. It is perhaps severest rest. But when you are judging the quality of the material you must put it to the severest test.**

Dr. Ambedkar's complete life story which has been full of struggle needs to be seen in the context of the trying times he was giong through. He, while devoting his life to a struggle against social inequality (in order to establish a harmonious society), deliver the rights of the deprived, release them from the scourge of illiteracy, help in their upliftment and introduce social harmony, wanted to see a strong and united nation. His belief was that so long as a divided society remained weak, it was futile to even visualise the establishment of a strong nation. That is why during his social movements, he gave utmost importance to social harmony and national unity. Today, it is the nation's misfortune that the Dalit society considers Dr Ambedkar only as its leader just as the rest of the society looks upon him merely as a leader of the Dalits. By viewing his struggle for establishing social harmony in a restricted manner, by isolating him from the entire country, the Dalit society and the Hindu society, various philosophers and writers have not done any justice to his noble personality.

The need of the hour is to study every aspect of his personality. He was indeed a great hero of entire humanity, entire society and entire country. Taking his life in its entirety and keeping his views in mind in the conext of the nation's unity and social harmony, it is absoluely essential to comprehend his views in today's context.

(The writer is a Minister of State for Ministry of HRD)

Courtesy: Gopal Agrawal, Noida, Uttar Pradesh

Bursting the Myth

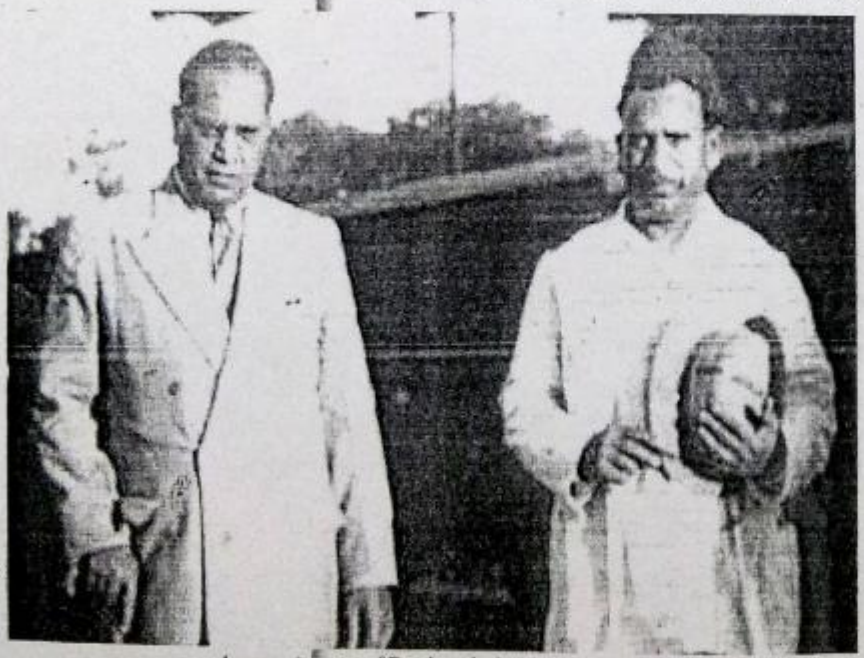
A Study on Aryan Invasion Theory

Dr Vijay Kayat

Ambedkar is more justified in his findings about Aryan race and their invasion. He is of the firm opinion that this theory was invented by the western writers who tried to distort the scientific findings and research to suit their ulterior design.

The 19th century historians, especially Indologists and German linguist Maxmullar, stressed authoritatively the Aryan invasion theory while defining the history of India. The influence and impact of this theory is seen even today in the context of political power conflict and social transformation covering various dimensions of Indian society. The gap thus created by one of these aspects provided basis for politics based on religion and castes, besides ideologival basis for such movements. This theory created the rift amongst the thinkers, reformers and religious and political leaders based on low and high castes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and so on. They are not only part of the history books but very much active in shaping the thoughts and actions of the vested interests present.

Mahatma Jyotiba Phule prepared the ground against the Aryans, especially the Brahmins and their domination. He launched a ideological-social campaign against them thus preparing the background for the larger battle in the future. In the 1980's the Dalit Panthers, BAMCEF, DS-4, and Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) leader Kanshi Ram and others used the same logic to challenge the Aryans and Brahmins in a power struggle of SC/STs. They organized the SCs, STs, and OBCs against the high caste people and raised a political agitations from the roads to the parliament. Recently, the then Bihar Chief Minister Jitan Ram Manjhi too gave slogan on this line. He said the Aryans are foreigners and SCs, STs, and Backwards should organise to throw off their power and establish their supremacy. Since the last two centuries this topic has remained controversial mainly due to biases and prejudices of thinkers, reformers and politicians of both the sides. An attempt is made in the present article to understand and analyse the controversy over Aryan-whether they are foreigners or not—in the light of Dr Bheemrao Ambedkar's thoughts.



A rare picture of Dadasaheb Gaikwad (R) with Dr Ambedkar (L)

The roots of this Aryan Invasion theory lie in the fact that these European linguists studied Sanskrit language and then placed it at par with Latin, Greek, Prussian, and other European languages. Sir William Jones, a high level administrative officer of the East India Company who translated Manusmruti in 1788 said that the ancestors of those who spoke Sanskrit and other six major languages of the world were the same. *(Third Anniversary Discourse, Asiatic Research)*. Till the middle of the 19th century Arya was used to denote those people who spoke these languages. This word was derived from Arya in *Rig Veda* and Airiya in Zend Awestha of the Iranian book. However, it would be appropriate to

Courtesy: Hotel Pooja Palace, Karol Bagh, Delhi-110005

use Arya word in the context of European and then Indian races. In fact, the use of Arya then was limited to denote a particular language. Therefore, technically Arya was used to identify people who spoke Indo-Aryan language. It may be mentioned that a race is a biological group while language is a cultural and social group. In this context, the word Dravid also denotes a language rather than a race.

German Indologist Maxmullar was the first to emphasis the Aryan invasion theory and stated that Aryan culture formed the basis of Indian civilisation. According to his logic, the Aryans were divided into two major groups before entering India. One group the Indo-European turned towards Europe while the other–Indo Aryan marched towards India from Iran. After some time one group from this left for India and came to be known as Aryans.

Talkjng about their original place, Maxmullar says that before their advent to Europe and Iran the Aryans belonged to the Central Asian region. He writes further that the Aryans who came from the North attacked the Dravids and pushed them to the South. Those who surrendered were made the slaves. But the Dasyus always challenged the Aryans and did not accept their supremacy. (1862. Lectures on the Science of language, 1883, India. What can it teach us?). While putting forth his theory of Aryan Invasion, Maxmullar mixed the language and race issues.

Theory of Invasion is an invention. This invention was necessary because of a gratuitous assumption that the Indo-German people are the purest of the modern representation of the original Aryan race. On the contrary, the theory is preconceived and facts are selected to prove it.

Studying the 14th century commentator of *Rig Veda*, Kasayana, Maxmullar described *Rig Veda* as Indo-European literature and Sanskrit as an ancient language and a key to understand the religion in India. Other Indologists who upheld this Aryan Invasion theory included John Mayor (Original Sanskrit Text on the Origin and History of the People of India their Religion and Institution 1874) and John Wilson (Indian caste 1877). Among the Indians Keshab Chandra Sen wrote, "We and the Aryans are two separated brothers of the same family who met when the Aryans came to India." (1923, Keshab Chandra Sen, Lecture in India).

Swami Dayanand Saraswati, scholar of Vedas and Brahmanas, placed the Aryans as original residents of Tibet. He said that the Aryans were of high caste because of their language and racial supremacy and the shudras were told to be outside the purview of the Aryasamaj. However, he advocated 'shuddhi' to incorporate shudras into Aryan fold. Bal Gangathar Tilak, however, opined that the Aryans probably belonged to the Arctic region. In his scholarly treatise "The Arctic Home in the Vedas" Tilak said that the Vedas were composed in this snow-clad region of the Arctic where day and nights were divided into a period of six months each. He said that before they entered India, their original place was in the Arctic region.

Against these findings the nationalist thinkers, historians and researchers have rejected the Aryan invasion theory. They included mainly Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, (1922, *Hindutva*,Who is a Hindu) and MS Golwalkar (1938, We or Our nationhood defined) who stated that Aryans did not come from outside, they were original inhabitants of India and all Hindus are Aryans. That is India was their motherland and sacred land. They also maintained that Sanskrit is the oldest of human languages and was born and developed in India. Savarkar expressed that all those who lived in India accepting this land as their motherland are Hindus including Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs. He said that Hindu Rashtra included whole the Indian subcontinent and accepted dharma as the basis of its nationalism. He said that all those non-Hindus who included Muslims, Christians, and Parsis, are foreigners as India was not their birthplace and their religion was originated out of India.

The opinion expressed by these nationalist thinkers seems closer to that of the British Theosophist thinker, Col Allcot. He was active in India and was of the opinion that Aryans were the ancestors of the Hindus and originally belonged to India. He also said that the same Indian Aryans went to Europe and gave birth to the European civilisation. (J Leopold, 74, British Application of the Aryan Theory of Race to India, 1850-70)

The Sindhu Civilisation excavations carried out in 1920-22 threw a new light on the Aryan civilisation in the ancient history of India and raised serious doubts over the earlier theories. Historians and archaeologists have fixed the period of this civilisation 1000 years prior to the Aryan tribal societies. They had also decided that the Rig Veda was composed by the Aryans around 1000 BC after their entry into India. However, nationalist archaeologists suggests that Sindhu civilisation was an extension of Aryan civilization. They suggested that it should be separated from the Harappan civilisation considering it as Sindhu-Saraswati civilisation rather than pre-Vedic civilisation. Those who

Dr Ambedkar in lighter mood with his associates

subscribed to this theory included SP Gupta (Lunger Chronology of the Indo-Saraswati Civilisation (Archaeology 1992-93) and VN Mishra (Indus Civilisation and Rigvedic Saraswati, South Asian Archaeology, 1994) who said based on their findings that this civilisation should be named after Sindhu-Saraswati. They based their logic on the findings of pre-Harappan and developed Harappan sites in third millennium BC in Cholistan area. They stated that these sites were findings mentioned along the Ghaggar-Hakda River basin and this river was known as Saraswati in the *Rig Veda*. And the Aryans developed their civilisation, Vedas and other literature along the banks of Saraswati River, it would be fit to call this Sindhu civilisation as Saraswati civilisation and extension of Aryan culture.

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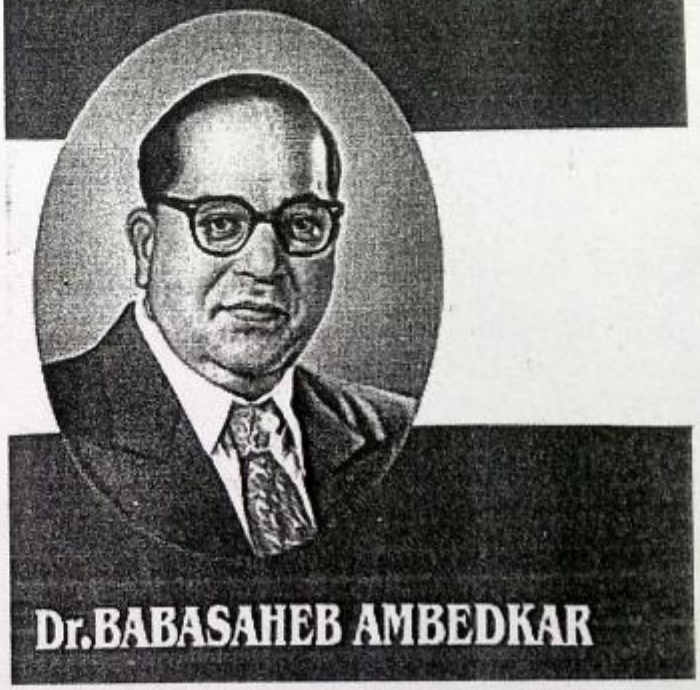
Those historians and archaeologists who call the Aryans as invaders base their logic on the basis of the archaeological finds found in Asia Minor's Bogaskoi place. They found an inscription dating back to the 14th century BC which mentions Aryan gods like Indra, Mitravaruna, and Nastya. In fact, at that time Syria was under the Pharoah rule and another inscription found at Tel-al-Amran mentions similar names of Syrian kings whose names resembled to those of Aryan Gods. One of the names was Vartan, Trivartan etc. in chaste Sanskrit. But they believe that this inscription substantiates the presence of Aryans in that region.

Gordon Child in his research thesis "New Light on the most ancient east (1934)", and Wheeler in his 1946 treaties "The Indus Civilisation" mention about the destruction of Indus civilisation in Aryan Invasion. Based on Rigvedic name Purandar for Indra, they branded Aryans as invaders. They believed that the recovery of some 48 skeletons bearing clear marks of injury caused by sword like sharp edged weapon in Mohanjodaro excavations proved this fact of Aryan invasion. Similarly, the excavations at Chahundaro some 130 km from Mohanjodaro also substantiated this theory. Based on these findings archaeologist Macai also supported Wheeler in this respect.

In addition to these archaeologists historian Romila Thapar did extensive study on the Aryans (The Aryan Recasting Constructs, 2008). In her extensive research she reaches some conclusions after analysing various aspects and sources. Amongst them some can be mentioned here. She argued that since the Harappan civilisation was urban and Aryan civilisation was rural the driving factors of both the civilizations were different and peculiarities of both the cultures were different. Therefore we need to understand them as per their parameters. In Sindhu Civilisation the urban centers were dependent on productions and this is endorsed by findings of developed granaries to store food grains. Besides, the brick kilns and sewerage systems, public utility centers, residential buildings, and long distance marketing system and a script indicated towards a fully developed urban civilisation while the Aryans were pastoral civilisations dependent on domestic animals and leading a religion-based life in small hamlets. Their economy was movable i.e dependent on horses and cows. They used to fight within themselves . Romila Thapar further analyses their migration route and says that thewy migrated in the north-west direction towards the Gangetic plains. In this context she mentions the 14th century inscription of Bogaskoi found in north Syria in which reference is made to a pact between Hitti and Mitani clans. In this pact the people of Hitti clan mention their gods like Mitra (Mishrasheel), Varun (Uruvsheel) Indra (Indruh) and Nastay (Nastayan) for deposing. This endorses the presence of Indo-Aryans in the Sopotomiya and Syria regions. This route is famous for training the horses that accompanied the Aryans. She further mentions that though complete refer-

WHO WERE THE SHUDRAS?



ence is not available in this respect it should be accepted on the basis of what is available that Indo-Aryans who spoke the Aryan language came to Iran with their horses in the middle of the second millennium. After this she writes that the group that spoke Iranian language moved towards Afghanistan. In the Rig Veda we find clear mention of Aryan movement from Afghanistan towards Punjab. This historian mentions about the downward journey of the Aryans from the Mujawant hills where they grew the Soma plant and drank its juice and crossed the flooded river with the help of God Indra who helped the Yadu and Turvasu clans of Aryans.

Following this Thapar mentions about the Bharat clan of the Aryans crossing the Ravi river and settling in plains of the Ganga. In this entire process though she does not subscribe to the theory of Aryan invasion, she mentions their entry into India in small groups.

Dr BR Ambedkar being a gifted multifarious personality and world famous legal expert, economist and political scientist and who had studied in depth on races, varna system and caste system, analysed the Aryan invasion theory and gave his inferences. In his book "Who were the Shudras?" (Hindi translation by Mozes Michael, Foreword by Dr Pradip Agrawal, Samyak Prakashan, Delhi 2007) Ambedkar deals with the subject at length in the chapter titled "Charshudra vis-à-vis Aryans". His study is a critique of the experts' findings based on fundamental literary sources, analysis and logic provided by other experts. Beginning from the Shudras who were kept on the fourth step of the ladder he starts his study and takes it to the seven aspects. They include composition of Vedic literature, whether Aryans were foreign invaders?, whether the original inhabitants of India – the Dasyus and Dasa were different from the Aryans?, whether the Aryans were fair skinned and Das –Dasyus were black skinned?, whether the Aryans defeated the Das-Dasyus? Whether they were called the Shudras after they were defeated?, Aryans were biased with the skin color of humans and hence they established the Varna system, and under this system separated the fair skinned Aryans from the Black skinned Das and Dasyus, one of the prime considerations..

> **Dr Bheemrao Ambedkar writes with clarity that the Aryan race theory propounded by the western scholars did not stand scholarly scrutiny. This theory was based on untruth and illogical findings and was figment of imagination.**

Dr Ambedkar accepts the social theory associated with he investigated. The Shudras in Rigveda (In the Purushsukta of the 10th mandala) but refuses to accept it as a divine dispensation. He brands supporters of divine theory of Shudra origination as discovery of a foolish mind and outrightly rejects it. He studied on Aryan races in the light of head and facial indices but found it incompetent to reach to any definite inference. On the other hand, he studied them from the language point of view under which he inferred that the Aryans were either farmers or land owners. In the third meaning he thought of Aryans as superior race.

Maxmullar accepts the fact in his detailed description on Aryans that this race is known by the language than by blood. Dr Ambedkar writes while explaining about the Aryans "I don't relate the term Aryan with blood, bones, hairs and skulls. The same is applicable to Hindus, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Celtics and Slavs. Therefore, the basis of Aryan race is their language. Ambedkar studied and analysed another research done on Aryans by a scholar called Benfey. His research was based on herbs, and animals. Describing his

thoughts Eiser Taylor in his book (The Origin of The Aryans) says that the Aryans might be familiar with animals like bear and some herbs that is to say that they might have inhabited European lands. Whereas Indians and Iranians were known to animals like tiger. If it is accepted that Aryans came from the east of Caspian sea then absence of tiger and lion and camel in their vocabulary raises doubts over their European connection.

Reviewing another scholar Dr Ambedkar says that like Benefey this scholar too says that the original place of the Aryans was somewhere central and western Germany. He further writes that the Aryans were not Caucasians because Caucasia was the graveyard of races. And commenting on Tilak's theory he said that absence of horses in the Arctic region negates the theory Aryan origin as propounded by Tilak.

Dr Ambedkar also commented on the book 'Life in ancient India in the age of the mantras' written by P T Aiyanagar. According to Aiyangar the words Arya, das, Dasyu are related to ways of worship than races. If they were invaders they would have talked about their victories which they did not. Secondly, the Vedic literature does not support the theory of Aryans being outsiders. D. S Trived (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol 20, page 13) quotes from the *Rig Veda* words used for rivers such as 'My Ganga', My Yamuna, My Saraswati', and asks can any foreigner speak with such emotional affinity about the rivers? He will talk like this only when he has lived in their vicinity for a long time. That is to substantiate in other way that Aryans were very much Indians and not outsiders.

In addition to these facts Dr Ambedkar also deals with the conflicts between Aryans, Dasas and Dasyus and states that those were smaller skirmishes. There is reference to such skirmishes at 8 out of 33 places against the Dasas and 7 against the Dasyus. His contention was these skirmishes were not aimed at subjugating any race. He also refers to pacts and agreements between the Aryans and Dasas and Dasyus. Quoting from the Rigveda he shows how the Aryans and Dasas fought together against the common enemy. The conflict between them was not racial one. It was at the most related to worshipping styles. Quoting extensively from the *Rig Veda*, Ambedkar stresses there was no room to accept that Aryans would have defeated the Dasas and Dasyus in military actions.

At the end of his analysis Dr Bheemrao Ambedkar writes with clarity that the Aryan race theory propounded by the western scholars did not stand scholarly scrutiny. This theory was based on untruth and illogical findings and was figment of imagination. As regards the Aryan invasion theory he writes that this invasion theory was a special discovery necessitated due to certain inherent concepts of the western world. That concept was only the Indo-German people are the pure blood people and their first inhabitant was from Europe. But there is no way to satisfy certain queries such as how the Aryan language came to India? The answer to this question lies in only assumption that this was possible by the entry of the Aryans in India from the outside. Therefore it was necessary to invent the invasion theory.

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If we study all the literary, linguistic, historical, archaeological, human sources to justify foreign links of Aryan race we cannot do so in the want of solid irrefutable evidences though Indologists like Maxmullar, British administrative officers and scholars tried hard to establish their Aryan invasion theory in all possible ways. Thus, Ambedkar is more justified in his findings about Aryan race and their invasion. He is of the firm opinion/ that this theory was invented by the western writers who tried to distort the scientific findings and research to suit their ulterior design.

We can confidently say on the basis of Dr Ambedkar's study that the Aryan race and Aryan invasion are just concepts and nothing more.

(The writer is Ambedkar Chair Professor, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak)

Mantra for Dynamic Progress

) Mulchand Rana

The contribution of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar to social life and creation of the Indian Constitution was so overwhelming that his equally important economic thoughts remain eclipsed almost ignoring his identity as an economist of world repute. As he always remained a champion of the Dalits and exploited classes, he came to be known as a leader who fought for the social justice and human rights. And this identity of Dr Ambedkar earned him tremendous popularity, even today.

However, Dr Ambedkar was one amongst the students selected for advanced training as an economist in 20th century. He started his post graduatiojn from Columbia University in the USA from July 20, 1913 and his topic of research was "Administration of Finance of the East India Company from 1792 to 1822". He painted a grim picture of indiscriminate exploitation by the Company resulting in extremely pitiable condition of Indian economy. His agony about the depressed classes and their condition is well expressed in his treatise "The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India". This book throws light on the financial relations between the Centre and the states in between 1833 to 1921. The book exposes faults with land tax, salt duty, stamp duty etc. and the exploitation thereof; spending more on non-productive expenses than education and stressed on emancipation of the poor and depressed on the basis of decentralizing economic planning and earnings.

Emerging young economist:

Ambedkar completed his Ph D in 1917 at the age of 26! His topic of research was "National Dividend a historical end a political story". He had criticised the British government policies in this as a result there were some obstructions. But overcoming them his book "Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India" was published in 1925. The book dealt with facts and figures the failure of financial system of the British government which was based on a centralised policy.

Dr Ambedkar dealt with issues other than finance in this book such as economic relations between the states and the centre, He was of the view that the auditing of expenses on public facilities like railways,

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roads, and canals be done on the basis of expenses incurred by any party system. The reason for this suggestion was on the fact that in between 1834 to 1828 the entire expenses by East India Company in India were less than the expenses incurred on water supply of just one city of Manchester in the UK.

Gold Exchange Plan:

According to famous economist J M Kens and other economists the gold exchange system was better for India as per the standard parameter of money. They opined that import of gold would not affect the gold exchange because this openness in exchange is desirable for the country's future development. Dr Ambedkar too had accepted this system but he also said that this was a mixed blessing. He stressed on the control of the right to discretion of the currency printing technique. He was of the opinion that gold exchange system does not give any such guarantee. This increases the inflation and besides being a threat to social and economic stability it results in maximum loss of the poor.

We can imagine the brilliance of Dr Ambedkar in his reply to economists like Kens. In fact, Dr Ambedkar was an economist whose roots were firmly on the ground of his motherland. That is why he would highlight on the ground reality of economic condition and actual position of the people instead of economic theories and theorams.

Dr Ambedkar was a member of Viceroy's Executive Council in 1942. This was a minister-level post. He addressed five conferences out of which two were on Damodar Valley Project, one on Mahanadi and two on Electric power.

Damodar Valley Project:

Dr Ambedkar was a member of Viceroy's executive council in 1942. This was a minister-level post and the reference to this is available in "Dr Ambedkar's Role on Economic Planning". He addressed five conferences out of which two were on Damodar Valley Project, one on Mahanadi and two on Electric power. Besides, he had a great role in multipurpose Damodar Valley project which influenced Bihar, and West Bengal in many ways. Flood control, irrigation, drinking water supply and hydel power production were the main objectives of this project. It was due to untiring efforts of Dr Ambedkar that the Damodar Valley Bill was brought in the Constitution Committee in December 1947 and subsequently passed in February 1948. Acting as a bridge between the two states and centre Dr Ambedkar played a key role in streamlining this ambitious project in shortest duration of four years converting the Damodar river into a river of blessings for Bihar and Bengal, This was the most successful project of Independent India for which the credit goes to Dr Ambedkar alone.

Nationalisation of Agriculture:

Dr Ambedkar's thoughts on agriculture are available in his article "Small holdings in India and their remedies 1917". This article was published in 1918 issue of Indian Economic Society. His thoughts on farming are published in 1947 issue of Status of Minorities. His manifesto of Swatantra Mazdoor Party contains eye opening views of Dr Ambedkar on agriculture. He felt that small holding were harmful for the country. This left maximum arable land unused and this affecting the production. Instead of this he advocated for adopting business oriented farming.

According to Dr Ambedkar the productivity of agriculture should not be based alone on the basis of land. Other factors such as capital, labor, and other requirements also affect the farming. His inspiration was the driving force for the land ceiling act. He advocated to improve farming:-

1. Nationalisation of Agriculture
2. Community or Coopreative Farming
3. Removal of 'Khot' system in farming,
4. Government should supply fertilisers, seeds and irrigation
5. More budgetary provision for agriculture, and
6. Control on private lending,

His thought are relevant even today. Nobel laureate Amarty Sen accepts Dr Ambedkar s a his guide in economics.

His thoughts on industrial development were:

Dr Ambedkar used to say with clarity that sans industrial development the country cannot achieve dynamic progress. The speedy industrial development would enhance employment opportunities, and save the foreign capital. Government should come forward to fulfill the social and national requirements for this. With this policy in the 50s industrial giants like BHEL, HEL, ONGC, SAIL, and others were set up. He had called for nationalisation of insurance and transport way back in 1944. Following the

advice, the government nationalised life insurance in 1956 and General Insurance in 1980.

Hindu Code Bill October 1948:

With a view to economically empower women of the country Dr Ambedkar drafted the Hindu Code Bill that was presented to the House in October 1948. The bill envisaged to grant equal right to women in their parental property besides a number of provisions for their interests. But this bill could not be passed in the House following which Dr Ambedkar had resigned as Law Minister.

RBI and Dr Ambedkar:

In 1926 when the Hilton Young commission visited India, each member of the commission carried the book "The problem of Rupees: Its origin and its solution" written by Dr Ambedkar. He had suggested that the control of money should be in the hands of an autonomous body instead of the government. This paved the way for formation of the Reserve Bank of India which came into existence vide the 1934 RBI Act.

Ambedkar as Labor Minister:

Ambedkar was instrumental in reducing the working hours from 14 hours to 8 hours at the 7th session of Indian Labour Conference held on 27th November 1942. The provision is still in vogue. During his time expectant mothers were given the maternity leave and benefits. National employment policy was implemented. The employment exchanges are the gift of Ambedkar to the country. They are still functioning.

In 1943 with the initiative of Dr Ambedkar the first trade union act was passed due to which the strongest trade unions are there in the country. The right to strike was granted legal sanction due to Ambedkar's initiative. Increments in wages, allowances, bonus etc. were accepted by the government for the benefit of labors during the tenure of Dr Ambedkar as Labor Minister.

Caste system and division of labour:

Dr Ambedkar was of the firm opinion that caste system and division of labor associated with it would not be achieved easily. This was not based on natural skills. There was no place in this for choice, liking, qualification, and emotions. He used to describe the Indian social system as a multi-storied building sans staircase where the workers were divided on the caste basis. Castes divided the workers and the work both. According to this system any child born in a particular caste would end his life in the same caste. No worker would accept such a social system.

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Liberalisation and Dr Ambedkar:

The country is following the policy of liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation since last two decades. Initially there was opposition to this policy but now with the world India too has accepted this system. This policy provides a favorable atmosphere for industries by making the legal process simplified and easy. Dr Ambedkar advocated for liberalisation four decades ago but with a rider that this would not be done at the cost of devaluation of Indian Rupee. He was of the firm opinion that the exchange rate may fluctuate but the national currency should be stable. But without understanding his concern, the state governments delayed this policy of liberalisation. Similarly, they could not stop devaluation of rupee resulting in India losing the benefits of liberalisation. Actually, Dr Ambedkar's economic philosophy was associated with the basis principle of 'Bahujan Hitaay Bahujan Sukhaay" (Greatest Good of Greatest Numbers) and based on strong pillars of social, religious and moral values. The focal point of this philosophy was the exploited and depressed classes of the society. His economic philosophy was based on three principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. Creation of a casteless society based on intellect, character and compassion was the soul of his philosophy. His economic thinking was never narrow. He would always think for the entire country. We are doing great injustice to such a great personality by limiting him to be a leader of a particular community.

(The writer is a thinker and the author of book: 'Reservation in India Myths & Reality')

A Vision for Change

Vision of social justice involves a normative element also in as much as it aims at the desirability of goodness in social life, dignity of the individual, equal rights of man and woman, promotion of social progress and better standards of life with peace and security in all spheres of human life.

Dr Sushma Yadav

One of the key themes of the writings of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the attainment of Social Justice and establishment of a just society , which, for him, was essentially also a casteless society. He not only provided a ruthless criticism of the existing social order but also came up with an alternative vision and alternative model of social order based on justice liberty, equality, fraternity and annihilation of caste . Ambedkar was convinced that a good social order or society has to go through two tests namely 'the test of justice' and the 'test of utility'. His judgmental analysis of the caste based Hindu social order was based on these two tests.

The basic premise of social justice is the emancipation of the underprivileged, exploited, and oppressed sections of society. Its main aim is to liberate mankind from traditional bondages of social and economic exploitation and discrimination. It postulates a social order which can guarantee freedom and equal rights to all sections of society. The concept of social justice is closely linked with Human Rights as envisaged by the United Nations in its 1948 Declaration and Fundamental Rights as provided in the Constitution of India but they are not synonymous. Fundamental Rights, i.e. the Right to Freedom and Equality, the Right against Exploitation, and Right to Constitutional Remedies, etc. are essential for the free and natural development of the human personality and hence are the backbone of a just social order but they are subject to control or limits if they adversely affect the pattern of social justice in society.

Social Justice encompasses Economic Justice. It is the virtue which guides us in creating those organised human interactions which we call institutions. Social Justice is also equated with Equality, Liberty and Dignity; which mean that all three are essential for Social Justice and that denial of any one of them is a denial of justice . Dignity is generally coterminous with Freedom and Equality. An illiterate, poor and ill fed person is hardly said to have any dignity.

Ambedkar cited that untouchability was unique in Indian society. Even the British Government had not done any good for improving the plight of untouchables. They had also denied them the political rights. He said that untouchables were: -

1. Socialised in such a way as to never to complain of their low status.
2. Never allowed to dream of improving their lot by forcing the other castes to treat them with common respect.
3. Made to think that they had been born so low that their fate was anything but irrevocable.
4. Given to believe that nothing could ever

Teachers honouring Ambedkar in Belgam (1940)

persuade them that they have the right to insist on better treatment than that meted out to them.

Ambedkar had taken a vow to expose and finally do away with the abominable conditions and inhuman injustice under which the class, into which, he was born had been groaning. He never failed in highlighting that the untouchable was prohibited from using the public road. If some high caste man happened to cross him, he had to be out of the way and stand at such a distance that his shadow will not fall on the high caste man. Helplessness made the untouchables live like slaves in Hindu society. The charter of Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy sought to incorporate the ideas of Human Rights in the Constitution of India.

Ambedkar believed in the maxim, "Tell the slave that he is a slave and he will revolt against his slavery" and often quoted this to arouse the consciousness amongst the untouchables for securing Human Rights. He established the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha to promote the spread of education among the depressed classes by opening hostels; and by opening social centers, study circles and libraries. The Sabha also sought to improve economic conditions of the depressed classes by opening agriculture and industrial schools; as well as to provide a platform represent their grievances.

Regarding Indian society, Ambedkar felt that, if the lower strata of the Indian society which is interested in blowing up the caste system is educated, the caste system will be blown up. He thought so highly of education that in his tri-worded slogan–Educate, organise, and agitate, he gave top priority to education.

Ambedkar told his fellow untouchables in no unclear terms—Who ever has knowledge, wisdom and strength is capable of tyrannising those who do not have either of them. Therefore the particular code of conduct was assigned to us by those who had knowledge, wisdom and strength. He always felts bad about the fact that because of the ignorance, gullibility and utter submissiveness, the untouchables were suffering the injustices. As they were not conscious of the heritage acquired by the humanity they made their position deplorable, helpless, and therefore, they kept facing the difficulties of food, cloth and shelter even though India remained a country, which was called a golden sparrow. In the midst of plenty, the untouchables remained poverty stricken.

The road to social justice in the opinion of Ambedkar was to be led by education. He firmly believed in the efficacy of education as a panacea for the social evils and injustice because the problem of social injustice in India is not only economic but also cultural . Here, it is not enough to house the untouchables/deprived sections of society, feed them and then leave them to serve the higher classes as was the ancient ideal of this country. It was even more necessary to remove from their minds/psyche that feeling of inferiority which has shunted their growth and made them slaves others and to create in them a consciousness of significance of life for themselves and for their country of which they have been cruelly robbed by the Indian social order. Ambedkar was convinced that nothing could achieve this better than the spread of higher education and the fact remains as true in present times as it was when Ambedkar wrote.

Regarding Indian society, Ambedkar felt that, if the lower strata of the Indian society which is interested in blowing up the caste system is educated, the caste system will be blown up. Giving education to those who want to blow up caste system will improve prospect of Democracy in India and put Democracy in safer hands. To him, it is very important to educate the poor masses and develop in them a genuine sense of political consciousness and constitutional temper. Their education means the maintenance of democracy and political order in peace and justice'. He thought so highly of education that in his tri-worded slogan – Educate, organise, and agitate, he gave top priority to it .

Ambedkar fought against caste and injustice. He struggled hard to create Human Rights. He wanted to vitalise the conscience of the people and to mobilise the masses in India, for equal Human Rights. His ultimate aim of life was to establish a real social democracy. According too him, "A Democratic form of Government presupposes a Democratic form of Society. The formal frame-work of Democracy is of no value and would indeed be a misfit if there was no social democracy." The political leaders never realised that Democracy was not only a form of government; it was essentially a form of Society.

To Ambedkar, the aim of democracy is essentially the practical interests of society as a whole, and not of any class group or community. He regards democracy as the social organisation of the people in the sense that the people include all members of society. To him, real democracy is opposed to the suppression of minorities .

It is significant to note that Ambedkar's vision of Social

My social philosophy may be said to be enshrined in these three words: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. My philosophy has roots in religion and not in political science. I have derived them from the teachings of my master, the Buddha.

–Babasaheb Ambedkar

Justice encompasses Nationalism as well. Ambedkar says, "Nationalism is a fact which can neither be eluded nor denied. Whether one calls it an irrational instinct or positive hallucination, the fact remains that it is a potent force which has a dynamic power to disrupt empires. Whether nationalism is the cause or the threat to nationalism is the cause, is a difference of emphasis only." He regards nationalism as a real force in human life. The starting point of his nationalism was startling, which was entirely misunderstood and was looked upon as anti-national, although his attitude was always purely national.

His attitude toward social justice was humanistic as well as nationalistic. His approach was twofold. He wanted not only freedom from foreign domination, but also internal freedom for the people to whom it was denied. He says, "We must have a Government in which men in power knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin, will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. This role the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a Government which is of the people, for the people and by the people that will make this possible."

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His vision of social justice also included redistribution of surplus and waste land to untouchables' schools and colleges to provide education to untouchables and formation of the Republican Party of India. As an elephant is easily recognized, he chose elephant as his party symbol and also because the elephant is taken to be a symbol of wisdom, strength and courage.

Thus, Ambedkar's conception of political power was aimed at securing social justice for the deprived on more equitable and honorable terms. But for him, political justice was not enough for the welfare and well-being of the Untouchables. He considered socio-economic justice as the precondition for redeeming political justice. Moreover, his vision of social justice involves a normative element also in as much as it aims at the desirability of goodness in social life, dignity of the individual, equal rights of man and woman, promotion of social progress and better standards of life with peace and security in all spheres of human life.

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Bringing Substantive Democracy

Dr Sangeet Ragi

Though it is difficult to say if it happened due to the unanimous view of the political dispensation of the time but it is a fact that Ambedkar emerged as a hero in political discussions on Dalits when very little is written or read about his thoughts and views in comparison to those of other contemporary leaders on the country's significant issues. Despite the fact that he was concertedly engaged at the Centre in the task of formulating the Constitution, the stamp of his erudition and understanding can be seen on every significant issue taken up at the Constituent Assembly, be it a debate on selection of the parliamentary system or governance, the issue of selecting a unitary, or be it regarding language or equal citizenship. The prime focus of his discussions in universities and other academic research institutions has been on caste discrimination and on the question of introducing social democracy.

Ambedkar's views on democracy raise very basic and pertinent questions. Though he was a supporter of liberal democracy of the West in which questions related to personal rights, freedom and equality were at the centre, he did not stop there. For him the aim of democracy was not only to provide rights and freedom to the people, but to establish such a society where feelings of companionship and cooperation flourished. Companionship meant a society whose unanimous aim was to consider the welfare of all and compassion and cooperation with each other. In the book, Collected Works: Writing and Speeches (Section 17, p. 519), Ambedkar says rights, equality and freedom are alright, but lack of companionship destroys equality just as the latter takes away freedom (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 4, Pp. 283-284).

His concept of democracy was not just confined to the political system or governance; he wanted to establish a society which was connected with the welfare of all and where all felt they were partners. The caste system established a society, which, contrary to a life of cooperation and partnership, divided the society permanently from a subjugated and exploited class. His belief was that social democracy was an essential prerequisite of political democracy. A system, which divides the society into one class which rules permanently and another class which is forever suppressed, was contrary to the main objectives of a democracy. Unfortunately the Indian caste system is plagued with such evils. Hence removal of the practice of untouchability was considered necessary. Without social equality, social unity was not possible and

Effective democratic and constitutional ethics, working of constitutional organisations according to principles, reliable and strong Opposition and an enlightened people's society which supported constitutional change are essential for building healthy democracy.

Courtesy: Chander Kiran, Jain Colony, Delhi-110007

in the absence of social unity, the sapling of democracy could not fix its roots in the soil. It would be scorched dry just as branches of a tree do so in the hot summer winds.

The question of social democracy was uppermost in Ambedkar's mind because and his entire life was devoted to achievement of social equality. Ranging from the demand for appointment of a separate leadership for the Dalits to the question of their collective conversion constituted an unusual psychological journey for him in which there was rebellion against society, a strange infatuation and pain too and in which he had taken birth. Yet, he did not work himself up into a state of frenzy against the caste system, nor chose the path to a caste struggle similar to the class struggle. The passion in his caste abhorrence was missing from his political idiom, quite unlike the demands of social justice by the self-acclaimed leaders of today. It, however, is true that his views on social democracy were different from those of Mahatma Gandhi. He was unhappy at the pace of social change and wanted the country to find a just solution by giving primacy to the social structure – a change in the social and economic conditions of the exploited and depressed people. It also is true that despite his political speeches blatantly criticising Manuvad (Hindu classical text on laws of Manu) and Brahminism, but when it came to writing it down, he did not forget to write that the Brahmins can be blamed for many other ills but not for the caste system and that neither Manu nor the Brahmins was responsible for it (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 1, p. 16.)

Ambedkar was worried that devaluation of constitutional organisations would place democracy in danger. In the past few decades, the way erosion of ethics and constitutional standards has been seen in Governors, Lok Sabha Chairman, parliamentarians and legislators, Ambedkar's warning seems to be coming true.

It was impossible for politicians who nurtured the poisonous creeper of caste politics to accept that Ambedkar was seriously opposed to caste politics. His opposition was to the caste system but he did not encourage caste politics to escape from it or to use it in the form of a struggle. On the contrary, he consistently reprimanded the Congress for putting up candidates on the basis of caste for both the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 17, Chap. 3A, p.22). Election of literate candidates was correct but making primary education essential meant weakening the leadership of the exploited and the deprived lot. His view of democracy was opposed to that of Gandhiji. His disagreement was not on the objective but on the means adopted and the pace of action.

The second aspect of his social democracy was giving proper leadership to the political and administrative structure for the exploited and the depressed community in the society. He was not a vociferous proponent of provisions like reservation for the deprived and the reason was that such a move would have forever crippled this section of people. He clearly upheld that the deprived class should be imparted high education so that they could stand proudly on the basis of their individual merits and achievements in front of other classes in the society.

Ambedkar believed that if more and more educated people entered politics, a marked difference would arise between the political system and the efficacy of democracy. However, he opposed every proposal to introduce new academic qualifications for the newly elected leaders. He held the belief that such a provision would prove harmful to the needs of the illiterate and exploited class. More significant is the fact that more than formal educational qualifications, elected leaders had to possess other merits, like wisdom and virtuosity (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 17, p.16.) In the absence of wisdom and virtuous conduct, formal education had no value. Carrying forward his argument, Dr Ambedkar criticised blind worship of aspiring candidates in politics. He wanted the public to elect leaders on the basis of their merits and capabilities. In the democratic political dispensation, there was no place for hero-worship; else the roots of democracy could turn weak from inside and give birth to person-specific politics. political dictatorship and autocracy (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 13, Pp. 12-15).

Apart from seeking an end to social-economic differences, he cited other significant elements that were essential for building a healthy democracy. These included effective democratic and constitutional ethics, working of constitutional organisations according to principles, reliable and strong Opposition and an enlightened people's society which supported constitutional change.

Ambedkar was worried that devaluation of constitutional organisations would place democracy in danger. In the past few decades, the way erosion of ethics and constitutional standards has been seen in Governors, Lok Sabha Chairman, parliamentarians and legislators, Ambedkar's

warning seems to be coming true. Destruction of constitutional ethics makes the public undisciplined and baseless. Misuse of law for changing allegiance to parties, constant destruction of constitutional methods and traditions by Governors points to the fact that in the absence of constitutional means, democracy becomes meaningless and futile (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 17, Part 3, p.480). Constitutional ethics are essential in a democracy. In Britain, the constitutional tradition exists still. Though they are mere traditions, no party resorts to transgression. As a result, after 1922, no member of the House of Lords could become a prime minister. It is an accepted practice that the prime minister is chosen from a popular House. In a parliamentary democracy, being a member of any House is enough to apply for this post. However, this tradition is continued with and not given up or discontinued for political benefits. Contrary to this, just because we relinquished it once in 1966, it has become a practice since then. For a healthy and rich democracy, it is essential for the public to be serious and conscious about democratic values, duties and democratic rights. Lack of faith in democracy isolates the people from constitutional and democratic procedures. What Ambedkar meant with democratic values was that the public should show the readiness to stand with truth after discerning between truth and falsehood, right and wrong; that is, stand up against injustice, cruelty, exploitation and raise their voice against them is the benchmark of a democracy. A public that remains self-centred or indifferent towards social welfare does not augur well for any democracy.

Democracy means self-rule in which the people elect their representatives to run the government. Democracy opposes both dynastic and autocratic rule. To ensure that the government does not become autocratic, the election system has been chosen. But even after an election, the possibility of unbridled or arbitrary rule cannot be ruled out.

The meaning of carving a state for followers of the same language meant language-based regionalism which, over time, strengthens politics of regional polarisation. Constitution of a state for followers of the same language and accepting only that language as official was prone to giving birth to a new religious frenzy.

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That is why it is necessary to have a strong Opposition (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 17, Pp. 474-485). A strong Opposition assures accountability to the people by revealing the shortcomings of the government and stops it from being autocratic and unsympathetic. Ambedkar also warned those newspapers and journals which, in their greed for advertisements, did not give a proper place and importance to the Opposition's voice. His belief was that such journalism was harmful to democracy.

Ambedkar considered it a government's responsibility to take the Opposition along with it in running the government. Majority support could both be misused for subjugating or humiliating the Opposition. If this were to happen, it would be like a majority inflicting cruelty upon the minority. In such a situation, the Opposition, that is in minority, may in a fit of anger lose its faith in the parliamentary democratic system and this can never be feasible (IBRD, 842-843), but along with this, it is essential that the Opposition does not resort to misuse of constitutional means. Repeated agitations by the Opposition, even if they are based on non-cooperation and non-violence, tend to be seen as moves to derail the

democratic system. Such agitations have been called by Ambedkar as 'signs of anarchy'.

Ambedkar believed that resorting to non-cooperation was justified when the Indians had no Constitution, but with the introduction of the Constitution, use of constitutional means is proper rather than taking to violent or non-violent means to bring about a change. In a parliamentary democracy, the ideal method for settling disputes and finding solutions to issues is the Parliament and not taking to the road. Repeated agitation by the Opposition in parliamentary debates and issues by walking out, be it through non-violent or non-cooperative means can be seen as a case of anarchy, relief from which at the earliest possible is advisable. The reason for taking to the path of an agitation means that we do not have faith in our constitutional methods. Such a view is indeed not feasible in a democracy.

Besides caste, Ambedkar was severely critical of polarisation on the basis of language and Dharma. He believed that feelings of common minds, common views, common history and common culture were essential for both the nation and Indian democracy. It is for this reason that keeping in mind the diversity of languages in the country, he launched a campaign to make Hindi the national language (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 1, p. 145).

He favoured formation of a state on the basis of language with the state using the same language; not that the followers of same language should be in one same state. In his view, the meaning of carving a state for followers of the same language meant language-based regionalism which, over time, strengthens politics of regional polarisation. Constitution of a state for followers of the same language and accepting only that language as official was prone to giving birth to a new religious frenzy (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 15, p.859). Not only this, he even said that all states and the Centre should have one official language (Collected Works: Writing and Speeches, Section 1, p. 105) as this would address personal discussions and concerns. After all, language is not only a medium of expression but a strong means to uniting the society.

A strong democracy makes a nation strong where there is no scope for encouraging the mentality towards divisions based on caste, language or sect. For this reason, Ambedkar vociferously advocated the Universal Civil Code. His belief was that if all religious communities controlled their people through their individual rules and laws, parliamentary democracy would weaken. He was not willing to accept the argument of Muslim leaders who said that their Personal Law and Shariat constituted a divine law and could not be altered. His contention was that this stipulation was introduced by the British rulers. Not only this, the changes in Shariat law over which the Muslim leaders get so agitated and criticise it for being an attempt at destroying the identity of the minority, have been overlooked when it is seen that the Shariat law had been forcibly imposed on Muslims of certain states, on their traditions and on their religious practices. Ambedkar advocated security for the minorities but warned that the question of 'minority identity' should not once again become a cause for a new form of polarisation. Hence the Uniform Civil Code is necessary for the realisation of a new and generous democracy.

Ambedkar advocated security for the minorities but warned that the question of 'minority identity' should not once again become a cause for a new form of polarisation. Hence the Uniform Civil Code is necessary for the realisation of a new and generous democracy.

Ambedkar's democracy is not a caste-based democracy even if the contractors of caste politics portray Ambedkar in this form for their personal gains. It is another matter that this has restricted Ambedkar's world view and kept world thinkers deprived of the legacy of his wisdom.

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Enlightened Thinker

Bhimrao Bhosale

The present paper attempts to understand Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar's vision of Religion. For Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Religion is a very comprehensive and influential subject. Religion is closely related to science, morality, Law, State, society, individual, and democracy. Religion is more powerful than the Government. Religion is related to community and nation. To certain extent, religion can be compared with philosophy. In Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's thinking, Religion covers all these subjects to large extent so it finds the most central place in the conduct of human beings. His approach is scientific, democratic and positivist. How the world must be is more important for him than merely what the world is. The world is full of suffering. The world is full of struggle. However, what is essential in this case is that the world must be free from suffering. How the world shall be Kingdom of Righteousness is of prime concern for all of us. The paper tries to provide a summary account of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's vision of Religion and related issues such as Dhamma, Karl Marx, Buddha, Secular State, Conversion to Buddhism, and his notion of an ideal society and the common base of values in the trinity of Hinduism, Buddhism and Democracy.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar thinks himself as the disciple of Lord Buddha, Saint Kabir, and the great man Mahatma Phule. He is described by most scholars as 'Yugpurush' and 'Rashtrapurush'. He is also described as 'Bodhisattva' and 'Bharatratna'. He is one of the most distinctive intellectuals of modern India. He is the chief architect of the Constitution of India. He ardently advocated the trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity as his social ideals. According to him, science, morality, and democracy must be the fundamental virtues of Religion to guide humankind to peace and make this world the kingdom of righteousness. Religion is for individual.

The common base of values in the trinity of Hinduism, Buddhism and Democracy forms a ray of hope for establishing the kingdom of righteousness and peace by removing the class struggle and suffering from the world.

What is Religion?

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar attempts a definition of religion mostly acceptable to the philosophers of religion. In his words it is, "That which governs people is Religion".

Religion and Philosophy

For Ambedkar, religion is something definite. However, he finds nothing definite in philosophy. Philosophy and Religion are adversaries to each other though not antagonists.

There is a difference between Dharma and religious knowledge. The form of Dharma is determined but nothing is predetermined in religious knowledge. Both contend with each other without being hostile.

Religion: A Matter of Principles Only

Religion must be mainly a matter of principles only. It cannot be a matter of rules. The moment it degenerates into rules, it ceases to be religion, as it kills responsibility, which is the essence of a truly religious act.

Religion and Law

Regarding Religion and Law, Ambedkar says that they are the forces, which govern the conduct of a man. They act as handmaids to each other. They also act as checks and balances to each other. Law being personal, it is capable of being unjust and iniquitous. But religion being impersonal in its true sense, so it can be impartial. If religion remains impartial, it is capable of defeating the inequity committed by law.

Nation and Community are More Powerful than Religion Ambedkar says that Religion can be helpful in providing justice within community but fails in doing so in case of communities. The call of nation and the call of community have proved more powerful than the call of religion for justice.

Religion is More Powerful than Government

Ambedkar believes that religion is necessary for the mankind. If the religion ends, society too ends. Religion is more powerful than the government because it binds the people together. It develops unity among the people of a society. Because of niti or Dhamma religion can safeguard and discipline mankind but no government can either safeguard or discipline mankind. Religion is like a magnet holding people together and developing in them sense of solidarity, integrity and feeling of oneness. Without solidarity and unity there cannot exist a society. Society is one by its very nature. Therefore, religion is heart of the society.

Four Stages of Religion

According to DR. Babasaheb Ambedkar, religion like language is evolved through four stages:

Stage (1): Religion as a matter of salvation of man's soul;

Stage (2): Religion as the maintenance of fraternity based on moral rules governing the conduct of human beings towards each other;

Stage (3): Religion as cult or worship of personalities who satisfied the wants of their lives and lastly;

Stage (4): Cult or worship of a person who performed miracles.

Four Characteristics of Religion

According to Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, there are four characteristic of religion:

1. The society must have either the sanction of laws or the sanction of morality to hold it together without either society is sure to go to pieces.
2. Religion if it is to function must be in accord with reason which is another name for science.
3. It is not enough for religion to consist of a moral code but its moral code must recognize the fundamental levels of liberty, equality and fraternity
4. Religion must not sanctify or ennoble poverty.

Religion like Language is Social

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar strongly criticises the religion that is partial and discriminates between its followers. It is not a religion that treats the crores of its adherents worse than dogs and criminals, and inflicts upon them insufferable disabilities. In his own words, "Religion is not the appellation for such an unjust order. Religion and slavery are incompatible".

Ambedkar says that religion can never be individual, personal and private. It becomes the source of mischief when it becomes personal and private. The correct view is that religion like language is social for the reason that either is essential for social life and the individual has to have it because without it he cannot participate in the life of society.

Religions Differ in Means and Methods

Ambedkar's answer to a question whether all religions are same or good is of worth consideration in a multi-religious context. He is of the opinion that to hold all religions either same or good is positively and demonstrably wrong. This is most erroneous and harmful. Religion is an institution and influence; and therefore' it may help or harm depending upon the religion in effect.

The notion of good differs from religion to religion and religion differs in their means and methods of promoting good in society.

Why does Religion Decline?

Ambedkar refers to an instance from the dialogues between Nagsen and Milind. Nagsen was the teacher and Milind the Prince. Why does religion decline is the question asked by Milind to Nagsen. To this question, Nagsen answers giving three reasons for the decline of a religion:

1. Immaturity of religion itself; the very foundation being week;
2. Lack of learned preachers if the religion to hold the debates with the opponents;
3. Religion or principles of religion are only for learned people and ordinary folks

consider it only as visiting temples and shrines.

Courtesy: Aryavart Society, Sanjay Jain-President, Chetan Kumar Prajapati-Gen. Secy.

Karmveer Bhaurao Patil - famous social activist and educationaist of Satara

Buddha and His Dhamma

According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Buddha is rational and democrat, moral and scientific. In Buddha and in his Dhamma, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar categoricallyreplies to the three questions that follow as:

What is Dhamma?

1. "To maintain purity of life is Dhamma.
2. To reach perfection in life is Dhamma.
3. To live in Nibaan is Dhamma.
4. To give up craving is Dhamma.
5. To believe that all compound things are impermanent is Dhamma.
6. To believe that Karma is the instrument of moral order is Dhamma".

The close reading of the six attributes of Dhamma makes us understand that Dhamma is a means and instrument for realizing purity and achieving perfection of life by giving up cravings and achieving Nibaan through
Karma as the instrument of moral order. It is a reality that all compound things are impermanent. Dhamma is therefore realism.

Logically applying six attributes of Dhamma to the issues of supernatural, Ishwar, Bramha, soul, sacrifices, speculations, reading books of Dhamma and infallibility of books of Dhamma are not Dhamma.

What is Saddhamma?

Section I: Function of Saddhamma

1. "To cleanse the mind of its impurities.
2. To make the world a kingdom of Righteousness".

There are only two functions of Saddhamma. First, a individual has to cleanse his mind of its impurities. Second, the world shall have moral order through the practice of righteousness.

Section II: Dhamma to be Saddhamma must promote Pradnya

1. "Dhamma is Saddhamma when it makes learning open to all.
2. Dhamma is Saddhamma when it teaches that mere learning is not enough. It may lead to pedantry.
3. Dhamma is Saddhamma when it teaches that what is needed is Pradnya".

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar provides a three point criteria that makes Dhamma a Saddhamma. The first criterion is Pradnya. Pradnya means learning that is experiential and not only theoretical. Pradnya is a shared experience of one and all. It is practical communication of experience and interaction. It is perfect understanding based on facts of life.

Section III: Dhamma to be Suddhama must promote Maitri

1. "Dhamma is Saddhamma only when it teaches that mere Pradnya is not enough. It must be accompanied by Sila.
2. Dhamma is Saddhamma only when it teaches that besides Pradyna and Sila what is necessary is Karuna.
3. Dhamma is Saddhamma only when it teachers that more than Karma what is necessary is Maitri".

The second criterion of Dhamma to be Saddhamma is Maitri. Pradnya is necessary but not enough. Pradnya needs Sila. Besides Pradnya and Shila Karuna is necessary and more than Karuna Maitri is necessary. In terms of values a scalar representation can be given as: Pradnya < Sila < Karuna < Maitri.

Maitri means loving kindness to all the living beings known and unknown near and distant.

Section IV: Dhamma to be Saddhamma must pull down all social barriers

1. "Dhamma to be Saddhamma must break down barriers between man and man.
2. Dhamma to be Saddhamma must teach that worth and not birth is the measure of man.
3. Dhamma to be Saddhamma must promote equality between man and man".

Samata and worth and not birth promotes social equality.

Courtesy: Piyush Impex Pvt Ltd, Karol Bagh, Delhi-110005

Saddhamma promotes equality and merit to provide unity to society. Unity of society is not possible without equality and merit.

The Purpose of Dhamma

Ambedkar defines the purpose of Dhamma as recognition of suffering in the world and removal of the suffering from the world. This must be the foundation and basis of Dhamma. According to Ambedkar, the centre of Dhamma is man and the relation of man to man in his life on earth. Dhamma has nothing to do with God, Soul,

Rituals, Ceremonies and life after death. The path of Dhamma consists of the path of purity, the path of Righteousness, the path of virtues and the path of states of perfection.

The Path of Purity

The path of purity aims to teach a person to be good and in order to be good needs to recognize some principles as principles of life. The five principles of 'Panchasheel' define the standard of good life. The principles are 'not to kill', 'not to steal', 'not to speak untruth', 'not to indulge in sexual misconduct' and 'not to have intoxicating drinks'. Panchasheel forms a set of five principles. The function of Panchasheel is 'restraint' from all types of wrongs and misconduct. It is preventive measure. One remembers the dictum that prevention is better than cure. One could also say to nip in the bud if it may cause nuisance.

> **The basic idea underlying religion is to create an atmosphere for the spiritual development of the individual. This being the situation, it is clear that one cannot develop his personality at all.**

The Path of Righteousness

The path of Righteousness teaches the eight-fold path right vision, right resolution, right speech, right exercise, right work, right livelihood, right concentration and right memory. There are five hindrances in the path of righteousness. The right vision is to be established by destroying Avijja (Nescience). Avijja means Miccha Ditti that is a failure to understand the noble truths --- the existence of suffering, the cause of suffering, the prevention of suffering and the removal of suffering. The means to overcome Miccha Ditti is through Samma Samadhi. This is an attempt to understand four noble truths and practice them individually and socially to realize freedom, equality and fraternity. This is the noble way to establish the righteous world. The four noble truths form the culmination of science and high moral standards. This is a ray of hope for truly vital life. The teachings of Lord Buddha are based on the scientific exposition of the 'four noble truths'- Dukkha, Dukkha Kaaran, Dukkha Nirodh, Dukkha Upaaya. The path of righteousness blends together science and morality and promotes social good.

Samma Samaadhi

Samma Samaadhi is positive, moral and hope for the best life. It trains the mind to concentrate and to think of good thoughts, good virtues and good deeds in the process of concentration (meditation) and thereby to eliminate the tendency of the mind to be drawn towards bad deeds and bad thoughts arising from the fetters / hindrances. There are five fetters: doubt, sloth, torpor, indecision, and list. It gives habit to the mind to think of noble ideas and noble virtues so that an individual is always inspired to be good in life, to be peaceful, and to be hopeful.

The Path of Virtues

The path of virtues means the observance of the following acts and practices in one's own life.

1. Sila (Restraint)
2. Dana (Offerings)
3. Pradnya (Wisdom)
4. Upekhya (Dispassionate)
5. Nekhamma (Forbearance)
6. Virya (Strength)
7. Khanti (Thoughtfulness)
8. Succha (Truth)
9. Adhithan (Resolute)
10. Maitri (Loving Kindness for all beings)

The acts that individual commits with sincerity develops integrity. What one thinks, what one speaks, and what one does must correspond and display unity then only the individual be characterize as virtuous. A virtue is doubly blessed as it is a blessing to an individual and also a blessing to the society.

The Path of States of Perfection

The states of perfection in their progressive higher order are:

1. Mudita (Utmost Happiness)
2. Vimal (Vishudhi/White)
3. Prabhakari (Bright Light)
4. Archismati (Flame of Thought/Light of Thought)
5. Sudurjaya (Invincible)
6. Abhimukhi (Instant Answerable / Accountable)
7. Durangam (Going Far away / off)
8. Achal (undeterred/Constant/immovable)
9. Sadhumati (Attainment of Ultimate Truth)

10. Dhamma Megha (The blue eye of the truth/the state of Lord Buddha, the Buddhahood)

The path of states of perfection consists of ten steps of progressive evolution of mind.

Mind is both means and end in itself. It is the source as well as the master of the universe. Nibaan is the real achievement for the life of quality, health, peace, and wisdom. According to Buddha Nibaan is the highest bliss and peace. Mind evolves step by step and moment by moment. It is like climbing a ladder Dhamma is a culture of mind. It is a discipline of mind. The states of perfection are the attributes of cultivated mind. Dhamma Megha is the third eye the state of Buddhahood.

Marxism

In contemporary critical theory and philosophy, one would come across a huge corpus of literature, debate and discussion in Marxism, which analyses class struggle from historical perspective and advocates philosophical foundation for proletariat revolution and proletariat dictatorship. According to Ambedkar, Buddha and Marx, to a large extent, share the approach to the question what the world is but they radically differ in their approach to the question how the world ought to be. Both of them recognise that there is suffering in the world because of class struggle but they differ in their method of removing the suffering created by class struggle. Marx advocates establishment of proletariat dictatorship through proletariat revolution. However, Buddha advocates Panchasheel and Ashtang Marg to be practiced individually and socially for establishing the Kingdom of Righteousness in the world. Karl Marx and Lord Buddha hold the common view for the suffering and cause of suffering but they differ radically on how to remove that suffering. Karl Marx proposes Revolution and Dictatorship of the proletariat. However, Buddha proposes Panchasheel and Ashtang Marg.

Mind evolves step by step and moment by moment. It is like climbing a ladder Dhamma is a culture of mind. It is a discipline of mind. The states of perfection are the attributes of cultivated mind. Dhamma Megha is the third eye the state of Buddhahood.

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar's Account of the Creed of Lord Buddha

1. "Religion is necessary for a free society.
2. Not every religion is worth having.
3. Religion must relate to facts of life and not to theories and speculations about God or Soul or Earth or Heaven.
4. It is wrong to make God the centre of religion.
5. It is wrong to make salvation of the soul as the centre of religion.
6. It is wrong to make animal sacrifices to be the centre of religion.
7. Real religion lives in the heart of man and not the Shastras.
8. Man and morality must be the centre of religion if not, religion is a cruel superstition.
9. It is not enough for morality to be the ideal of life. Since there is no God, it must become the law of life.
10. The function of religion is to reconstruct the world and to make it happy and not to explain its origin and end.
11. That the unhappiness in the world is due to conflict of interest and the only way to solve it is to follow the Ashtang Marg.
12. That private ownership of property brings power to one class and sorrow to another.
13. That it is necessary for the good of society that this sorrow be removed by removing its cause.
14. All human beings are equal.
15. Worth and not birth is the measure of man.
16. What is important is high ideals and not noble birth.
17. Maitri or fellowship towards all must never be abandoned. One owes it even to one's enemy.
18. Everyone has a right to learn. Learning is as necessary for man to live as food is.
19. Learning without character is dangerous.
20. Nothing is Infallible. Nothing is binding forever. Everything is subject to inquiry and examination.
21. Nothing is final.
22. Everything is subject to the law of causation.
23. Nothing is permanent or Sanatan. Everything is subject to change. Being is becoming.
24. War is wrong unless it is for truth and justice.
25. The victor has duties toward the vanquished.

This is the creed of Buddha in a summary form. How ancient but how fresh!

How wide and deep are his teachings!"

Secular State

"It is all very good to say that we have proposed in our constitution a secular state. I have no idea whether any member when they use these words 'Secular State' really mean

"...unfortunately the religions which prevail in this country are not merely non-social so far as their mutual relations are concerned. These are anti-social, one religion claiming that its teaching constitutes the only right path for salvation, that all other religions are wrong. The Muslims believe that anyone who does not believe in the dogma of Islam is a Kafir not entitled to brotherly treatment with the Muslims. The Christians have a similar belief. In view of this, it seems to me that we should be considerably disturbing the peaceful atmosphere of an institution if these controversies with regard to the truthful character of any particular religion and the erroneous character of the other were brought into juxtaposition in the school itself. I therefore say that in laying down in article 22 (I) that in state institution there shall be no religious instructions, we have in my judgment traveled the path of complete safety.

–Babasaheb Ambedkar

what the constitution is intended to mean. It does not mean that we can abolish religion; it does not mean that we shall not take into consideration the religious sentiments of the people. All that a secular state means is that this parliament shall not be competent to impose any particular religion upon the rest of the people. That is the only limitation that the constitution recognises". Thus, Ambedkar makes it clear that it does not mean that we can abolish religion; it does not mean that we shall not take into consideration the religious sentiments of the people. The only meaning of 'secular state', the constitution proposes to mean is that the parliament shall not be competent to impose any particular religion upon the rest of the people. This is the only limitation that the constitution recognises. The constitution provides complete protection of the religion of the people, and therefore everyone has to respect the religious sentiments of the people.

Ambedkar evaluates the religions in India as 'unfortunately not merely nonsocial, but anti-social'. He says that one religion claims that its teachings constitute the only right path for salvation. That all other religions are wrong. Ambedkar thinks that the serious controversies result from 'biased approaches' to religions. One should never attempt to juxtapose the truthful character of a particular religion and the erroneous character of the other religions. In order to avoid controversies, the article 22 (1) of the constitution rightly prohibits religious instructions in state institutions.

On this Ambedkar says, "...unfortunately the religions which prevail in this country are not merely non-social so far as their mutual relations are concerned. These are anti-social, one religion claiming that its teaching constitutes the only right path for salvation, that all other religions are wrong.

The Muslims believe that anyone who does not believe in the dogma of Islam is a Kafir not entitled to brotherly treatment with the Muslims. The Christians have a similar belief. In view of this, it seems to me that we should be considerably disturbing the peaceful atmosphere of an institution if these controversies with regard to the truthful character of any particular religion and the erroneous character of the other were brought into juxtaposition in the school itself. I therefore say that in laying down in article 22 (1) that in state institution there shall be no religious instructions, we have in my judgment traveled the path of complete safety."

Freedom from social inequality and untouchability

At the time of Dr. Ambedkar he experienced that the Hindu Dharma follows the order of inequalities and people also back this order with the sanction of the Hindu Dharma. As an effect crores of people have been leading the disgraceful life of social, economical and political slavery. So Dr Ambedkar made his mind to disassociate with the Hindu Dharma which follows the order of social inequality and practice of untouchability. But it must be noted that he was no way against the Dharma. He had great faith in Dharma. He only discarded the word 'Hindu' for negating caste based discrimination and embraced the word 'Buddha Dhamma'.

Why Buddhism?

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar prefers Buddhism for three principles namely Pradnya (understanding as against superstition and supernaturalism), karuna (Love), and Samata (Equality). All other religions talk of God, Soul and the life after death.

These three principles together make the life good and happy and can save society. Neither God nor Soul is of any use for the society. Oaths (14th Oct.1956, conversion ceremony) Out of 22 oaths he got recited at the conversion ceremony, the last five are very significant as they give the basic reason of his conversion:

18. "I shall strive to lead my life in conformity with the three principles of Buddhism that is Pradnya (Wisdom), Sheel (Character), and Karuna (Compassion).
19. I hereby embrace Buddhism by renouncing my old Hindu religion which is detrimental to the prosperity of the mankind and discriminates human beings and treats them low.
20. I finally believe that the Buddha Dhamma is the Saddhama.
21. I believe, I am entering the new life.
22. Here after, I pledge to conduct myself in accordance with the teachings of the Buddha."

Buddhism is part of Indian culture which propagates truth and non-violence. By adopting this Dharma, Indian culture and tradition can be protected. That is why Ambedkar embraced Buddhism.

The Greatest Benefit Conferred on the Country

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar has declared that he has conferred the greatest benefits on India by embracing Buddhism, because Buddhism is a part and parcel of Bhartiya culture. He has taken care that his conversion will not harm the tradition, the culture and history of this land.

Society

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar thinks society as one by its very nature. Society is one if it has qualities such as community of purpose and desire of welfare, loyalty to public ends and mutuality of sympathy and cooperation.

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar considers how men constitute a society? They constitute a society by having things in common and they possess things in common by being in communication with another. In other words a society continues to exist by communication indeed in communication.... making the individual a sharer or partner in the associated activity so that he feels its success as his success, its failure, as his failure which binds men and makes the society of them.

The aim and object of society Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar expresses in the words: "The individual is an end in himself and that the aim and object of society is the growth of the individual and the development of his personality..... The second essential is that the terms of associated life between members of society must be regarded by consideration founded on liberty, equality, and fraternity".

An ideal society, according to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar displays values of liberty, equality, fraternity, and social endosmosis. An ideal society should be mobile with full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts. In ideal society there should be many interests consciously communicated and shared.

There should be varied and free points of contact with the other modes of association. In other words there must be endosmosis.

The Stratification of Society is Incompatible

"Modern Science has shown that lumping together of individuals into a few sharply marked off classes each confined to one particular sphere does injustice both to the individuals and to society. The stratification of society by classes and occupations is incompatible with the fullest utilization of the qualities which is so necessary for social advancement and is also incompatible with the safety and security of the individual as well as of society in gener."

For Reform–a Legislation is Must

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar advocates that legislation is must either for social reform or for religious reform. Normally society is conservative. It changes slowly. A struggle is required for change. The old is always stronger than the new. Without change, no society shall survive. Therefore, law is required to back up the reform.

Without the help of legislation, there can never be reform in any evil. The necessity of legislation is more if the evil to be reform is based on religion.

Brahminism Defined

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar categorically defines Brahminism as:

"By Brahminism I mean the negation of the spirit of lib-

erty, equality, and fraternity".

The aim of Brahminism was to sustain the caste system by employing ways and means whether fair or unfair, moral or immoral.

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar sums up the creed of Brahminism in the following dogmas:

i. Belief in the Chaturvarna.

ii. Sanctity and infallibility of the Vedas.

iii. Sacrifices to Gods the only way to salvation.

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar quotes that Gandhi has repudiated that "caste is harmful both to spiritual and nation growth"

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar suggests reforms in Hindu law, which is mixed up with Hindu religion. Religion is separate from law in the sense that religion is as said at the beginning a matter of principle only and law is a matter of rules. The set of rules, sanctions, injunctions, commands, and prohibitions are the inherent part of Hindu law.

Therefore, Hindu law needs to be reformed which is mixed up with the Hindu religion. This has created a chaos and menace for Hindus in general and untouchables in particular. It has created a class struggle and forced slavery upon Shudras, Atishudras and women. His suggestion is on the lines of Lord Buddha and Guru Nanak. Unless the shastras are denied their undue authority and sacredness, caste cannot be annihilated and Hindus liberated from slavery. According to him, the cardinal items of reform in Hinduism are:

> "The stratification of society by classes and occupations is incompatible with the fullest utilisation of the qualities which is so necessary for social advancement and is also incompatible with the safety and security of the individual as well as of society in gener."

1. There should be one standard book of Hindu religion acceptable to all.
2. The priesthood should be abolished and or at least cease to be hereditary.
3. A priest must qualify a test conducted by the state.
4. A priest should be the servant of the state and subject to the disciplinary action by the state in the matter of his morals, beliefs and worship like all other citizens.
5. The number of priests should be limited by law according to the requirements of the state.
6. Upnishads can be source for religious principles in consonance with liberty, equality and fraternity.

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar analyses established religions to seek science, morality, the trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity along with spirituality that brings about a positive change in the very disposition of an individual so that he is free, virtuous, and lives a life of higher values. When he points to Upnishads as a source of religious principles in consonance with democratic values, it seems what is in his mind must be

1. Datta (give up) Damayata (restraint) Dayadhvam (sympathy) Shantih Shantih Shantih ("The Peace which passeth understanding"- trans.T. S. Eliot) This is similar to Buddha's

2. Pradnya (wisdom) Sila (restraint) Karuna (sympathy) **Maitri (loving kindness)**

These principles of Upnishads (Hinduism) and Buddhism perfectly merge and unify with each other and therefore the trinity of liberty, equality, and fraternity with its justice correspond to our constitutional values highlighting the cultural homogeneity of India.

3. Liberty Equality Fraternity **Justice (the existence of balance)**

The Shantih of the Upnishads, the Maitri of Buddha and Justice of constitutional democracy provide unification of higher human values. Each of these values is equivalence par excellence of religious spirituality and democracy respectively. That is, Shantih is equivalence of Datta (give up) Damayata (restraint) Dayadhvam (sympathy). Maitri is equivalence of Liberty Equality Fraternity. Similarly Justice is equivalence of Liberty Equality Fraternity.

Fraternity–The Root of Democracy

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar reads fraternity as the base on which survives either liberty or equality. Without fraternity, neither liberty nor equality survives. In democracy, liberty as well as equality survives because there is fraternity in democracy. Fraternity means fellow feeling and in words of Buddha Maitri. To in his words: "Some equate democracy with equality and liberty. Equality and liberty are no doubt the deepest concern of democracy. But the more important question is what sustains equality and liberty? Some would say that it is the law of the state, which sustains equality and liberty. This is not a true answer. What sustains equality and liberty is fellow feeling. What the French Revolutionists called fraternity. The word fraternity is not an adequate expression. The proper term is what the Buddha called, Maitree. Without fraternity, liberty would destroy equality, and equality would destroy liberty. If in democracy, liberty does not destroy equality and equality does not destroy liberty, it is because at the basis of both there is fraternity. Fraternity is therefore the root of democracy."

(The writer is Professor, Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, Aurangabad.)

Exposing the Menace

Kishor Makwana

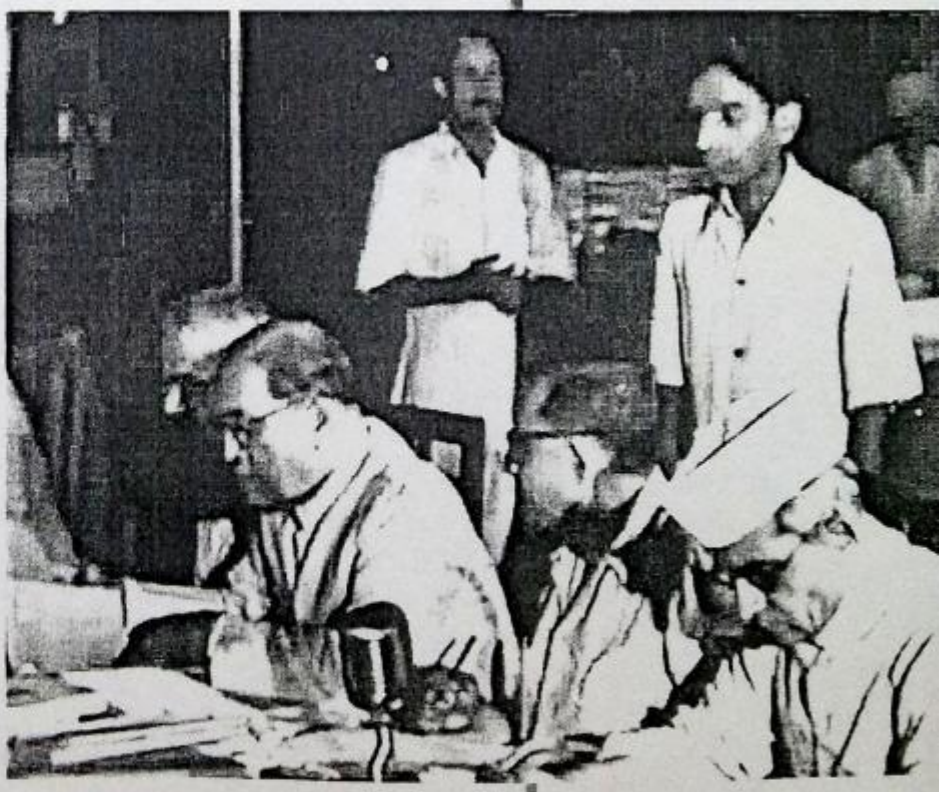
After taking the holistic perspective on Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, we realise that this person of great intellect had only one objective in mind that is to end the social disparities and renergise the Hindu society on the basis of harmony, equality and fraternity. At the same time his heart was fully dedicated with patriotic feelings for the nation. His sentence that "No individual is bigger than the nation...I will fight for protecting the freedom of my country India — till the last drop of blood in the body' is embodiment of his dedication for the nation. These patriotic aspects of Babasaheb's life are being deliberately curbed. If Pseudo-secularists, Fake Ambedkarites and communist intellectuals try to explore these thoughts of Ambedkar, it can be high voltage shock for them.

Today whole world is facing the menace of Islamic terrorism. Dr Ambedkar had presented a realistic analysis of this problem 75 years ago. As he fearlessly fought against the orthodoxy and untouchability in the Hindu society, he also opposed the politics of Muslim society based on religious extremism. We get the clear picture of mindset behind creation of Pakistan if we read his famous book 'Thoughts on Pakistan'. Why the temple at Somnath was devastated? Which were the objectives behind the Muslim aggressions on this country? What is the root cause of Hindu-Muslim riots? Why does the national leadership succumb against the Muslim extremism? Why there is a nuisance of Jihadi Terrorism in India and all over the world? We get answers to all these questions in Dr Ambedkar's thought. To tackle this problem we need to understand his thoughts in detail.

Dr Ambedkar's approach towards Islamic extremism was always clear. When the national leadership was following the policy of appeasement in guise of Hindu-Muslim Unity, on January 18th, 1928 Dr Ambedkar writes in his editorial of Bahishkrit Bharat, 'Muslim tilt towards the nations of Muslim culture is but natural. However, this inclination has crossed the limits. Their ultimate aim is to form an Islamic Union with the spread of Islamic culture and dominate the nations of Kafirs (non-believers). That is why despite being rooted in Hidustan their eyes are always staring towards Turkastan or Afghanistan. It is dangerous to believe that Muslims, who do not consider Hindustan to be their own land and do not have a minutest of compassion for the Hindus around, will fight for us in case of any Muslim country."

He was completely convinced that creation was Pakistan was the direct outcome of the intolerant, extremist, aggressive and

There is no doubt that striking a blow at the idolatry and polytheism of Hindus and establishing Islam in India was also one of the aims of Islamic expedition.



In the state of Kashmir the ruler is a Hindu, but the majority of the subjects are Muslims. The Muslims fought for representative government in Kashmir, because representative government in Kashmir meant the transfer of power from a Hindu king to the Muslim masses. In other Muslims states, the ruler is a Muslim but the majority of his subjects are Hindus. In such states representative government means the transfer of power from a Muslim Ruler to the Hindu masses, and that is why the Muslim support the introduction of representative government in one case and oppose it, in the other.

–Babasaheb Ambedkar

adamant attitude of the Muslims. This conviction he has penned down in his book 'Thoughts on Pakistan (1941). In those days this was the first book on the subject, which shows the truth of visionary political understanding of Babasaheb. The second edition of the book was published in 1945 with the title 'Pakistan and Partition of India'.

When Muslim League demanded for separate Pakistan in 1940, many of the Congress leaders took it as an imagination of a political leader. However, Babasaheb who had in depth understanding of Muslim extremism and problem of political Islam visualised it as a inevitable reality. He clearly said that he would not waste his words on those who thought that Pakistan was not a debatable subject at all. If it was thought that the demand was unjust, then the coming of Pakistan would be a terrible thing for them. It was wrong, he said; to tell the people to forget history." He also stated that it is illusion of some Hindus that Britain would use force to curb the demand for separate Pakistan.

He was of the firm opinion that Hindu-Muslim unity and secularism are grave delusions. He was also aware about the British strategy of engaging Congress on the plank of unity and at the same time tacitly supporting Muslim separatism. He was convinced that Pakistan is not a dream of Jinnah as an individual leader but deeply rooted in the Muslim psyche. Historically analysing the issue he asked whether there are any commonalities or companionship among Hindus and Muslims that would bring them together. Taking clues from the historical records he says, "These Muslim invasions were not undertaken merely out of lust for loot or conquest. There was another object behind them. The expedition against Sind by Mahommad bin Qasim was of a punitive character and was undertaken to punish Raja Dahir of Sind who had refused to make restitution for the seizure of an Arab ship at Debul, one of the sea-port towns of Sind. But, there is no doubt that striking a blow at the idolatry and polytheism of Hindus and establishing Islam in India was also one of the aims of this expedition." While identifying the biggest obstacle in this Hindu-Muslim unity he says, "The methods adopted by the invaders have left behind them their aftermath. One aftermath is the bitterness between the Hindus and the Muslims which they have caused. This bitterness, between the two, is so deep-seated that a century of political life has neither succeeded in assuaging it, nor in making people forget it. As the invasions were accompanied with. destruction of temples and forced conversions, with spoliation of property, with slaughter,, enslavement and abasement of men, women and children, what wonder if the memory of these invasions has ever remained green, as a source of pride to the Muslims and as a source of shame to the Hindus ?" He further explains that the Muslim invaders, no doubt, came to India singing a hymn of hate against the Hindus. But, they did not merely sing their hymn of hate and go back burning a few temples on the way. That would have been a blessing. They were not content with so negative a result. They did a posi-

tive act, namely, to plant the seed of Islam. The growth of this plant is remarkable. It is not a summer sapling. It is as great and as strong as an oke. Its growth is the thickest in Northern India.

While talking about the political inspirations of Islam, Dr Ambedkar cite other authors and says, ""According to Muslim Canon Law the world is divided into two camps, Dar-ul-Islam (abode of Islam) and Dar-ul-Harb (abode of war). A country is Dar-ul-Islam when it is ruled by Muslims. A country is Dar-ul-Harb when Muslims only reside in it but are not rulers of it. That being the Canon Law of the Muslims, India cannot be the common motherland of the Hindus and the Musalmans. It can be the land of the Musalmans - but it cannot be the land of the 'Hindus and the Musalmans living as equals'. Further, it can be the land of the Musalmans only when it is governed by the Muslims. The moment the land becomes subject to the authority of a non-Muslim power, it ceases to be the land of the Muslims. Instead of being Dar-ul-Islam it becomes Dar-ul-Harb.(P. 294).

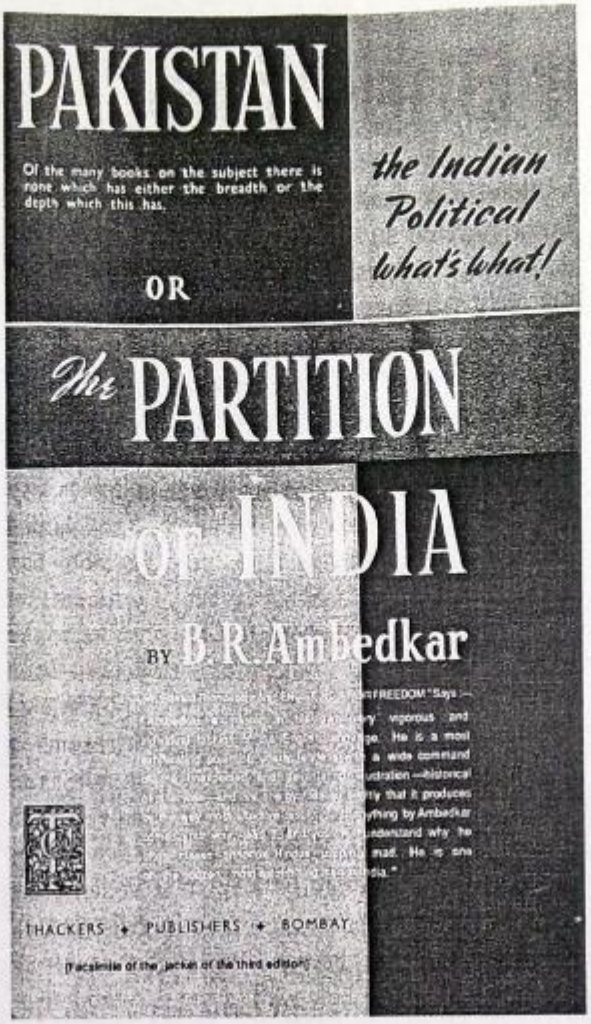
Babasaheb also exposed the founder of Aligarh Muslim Unicersity Sir Syedd Ahmad Khan. Babasaheb writes, "Sir Syed Ahmad with his fullest ability convinced Muslims not to consider India as Dar-ul-Harb just because there is no Muslim ruler...to make Dar-ul-Harb into Dar-ul-Islam is the duty of every Muslim."

He also deals with the international dimensions of Islam which do not consider any geographic affiliation. To the Muslim, he states, Islam is a world religion, suitable for all peoples for all times and for all conditions. The brotherhood of Islam is not the universal brotherhood of man. It is the brotherhood of Muslims for Muslims only. For non-Muslims there is nothing but contempt and enmity. The Muslim has allegiance to a nation which is ruled by a Muslim; a land not ruled by a Muslim is his enemy land. The book, therefore, concludes that Islam can never allow a true Muslim to adopt India as his Motherland and regard a Hindu as his kith and kin. The spirit of aggression is a Muslim's natural endowment. He takes advantage of the weakness of the Hindus and follows gangsterism.

He regarded the efforts of Hindu-Muslim unity as futile efforts which are resulting in nothing but more aggression and separatism of Muslims. That is why he demanded for complete transfer of populations while creating Pakistan.

Patriotic Dr Ambedkar wanted reforms within Hindu society. He was very concerned that due to internal divisions, external aggressors could rule us. Today the whole world is grappling with the menace of religious extremism. India is facing it for more than thousand years. Even today, Babasaheb's analysis is 100% true. Babasaheb went to the roots of the problem and came with the solutions. Jihadi mindset and religious extremism is a menace for whole humanity. Thoughts expressed by Dr Ambedkar on this critical issue are relevant for the whole humanity today.

(The writer is the editor of Samajik Samarasata*)*


PAKISTAN
Of the many books on the subject there is none which has either the breadth or the depth which this has.
OR
the Indian Political what's what!
The PARTITION
OF INDIA
BY B. R. Ambedkar
THACKERS + PUBLISHERS + BOMBAY
(Facsimile of the jacket of the third edition)

> 'Muslim tilt towards the nations of Muslim culture is but natural. However, this inclination has crossed the limits. Their ultimate aim is to form an Islamic Union with the spread of Islamic culture and dominate the nations of Kafirs (non-believers). That is why despite being rooted in Hidustan their eyes are always staring towards Turkastan or Afghanistan.

Dr Bheemrao Ambedkar

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is viewed as messiah of dalits and downtrodden in India. He was the chairman of the drafting committee that was constituted by the Constituent Assembly in 1947 to draft a constitution for the independent India. For his yeoman service to the nation, B.R. Ambedkar was bestowed with Bharat Ratna in 1990.

Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar was born on April 14, 1891 in Mhow (presently in Madhya Pradesh). He was the fourteenth child of Ramji and Bhimabai Sakpal Ambedkar. B.R. Ambedkar belonged to the "untouchable" Mahar Caste. His father and grandfather served in the British Army. In those days, the government ensured that all the army personnel and their children were educated and ran special schools for this purpose. This ensured good education for BhimraoAmbedkar, which would have otherwise been denied to him by the virtue of his caste.

BhimraoRamjiAmbedkar was born in the British-founded town and military cantonment of Mhow in the Central Provinces (now in Madhya Pradesh). He was the 14th and last child of RamjiMalojiSakpal and BhimabaiMurbadkar. His family was of Marathi background from the town of Ambavade in the Ratnagiri district of modern-day Maharashtra. They belonged to the Hindu Mahar caste, who were treated as untouchables and subjected to intense socioeconomic discrimination. Ambedkar's ancestors had for long been in the employ of the army of the British East India Company, and his father served in the Indian Army at the Mhow cantonment, rising to the rank of Subedar. He had received a degree of formal education in Marathi and English, and encouraged his children to learn and work hard at school.

Belonging to KabirPanth, RamjiSakpal encouraged his children to read the Hindu classics, especially the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. He used his position in the army to lobby for his children to study at the government school, as they faced resistance owing to their caste. Although able to attend school, Ambedkar and other Untouchable children were segregated and given no attention or assistance from the teachers. RamjiSakpal retired in 1894 and the family moved to Satara two years later. Shortly after their move, Ambedkar's mother died. The children were cared for by their paternal aunt, and lived in difficult circumstances. Only three sons—Balaram, Anandrao and Bhimrao—and two daughters—Manjula and Tulasa—of the Ambedkars would go on to survive them. Of his brothers and sisters, only Ambedkar succeeded in passing his examinations and graduate to a bigger school. His native village name was "Ambavade" in Ratnagiri District so he changed his name from "Sakpal" to "Ambedkar" with the recommendation and faith of a Brahmin teacher that believed in Bhimrao.

RamjiSakpal remarried in 1898, and the family moved to Mumbai (then Bombay), where Ambedkar became the first untouchable student at the Government High School near Elphinstone Road. Although excelling in his studies, Ambedkar was increasingly disturbed by his segregation and discrimination. In 1907, he passed his matriculation examination and entered the University of Mumbai, becoming one of the first persons of untouchable origin to enter college in India. This success provoked celebrations amongst his community, and after

Courtesy: Arvind Garg, Municipal Councillor, Kamla Nagar, Delhi-110007

a public ceremony, he was given a biography of the Buddha by his teacher KrishnajiArjunKeluskar also known as Dada Keluskar a Maratha caste scholar. Ambedkar's marriage had been arranged the previous year as per Hindu custom, to Ramabai, a nine-year old girl from Dapoli. In 1908, he entered the Elphinstone College and obtained a scholarship of Rs. 25 a month from the Gaikwad ruler of Baroda, SahyajiRao III for higher studies in USA. By 1912, he obtained his degree in economics and political science, and prepared to take up employment with the Baroda state government. His wife gave birth to his first son, Yashwant in the same year. Ambedkar had just moved his young family and started work, when he dashed back to Mumbai to see his ailing father, who died on February 2, 1913.

The Shock of Prejudice

Bhim began to notice that he and his family were treated differently. At high school he had to sit in the corner of the room on a rough mat, away from the desks of the other pupils. At breaktime, he was not allowed to drink water using the cups his fellow school children used. He had to hold his cupped hands out to have water poured into them by the school caretaker. Bhim did not know why he should be treated differently—what was wrong with him? Once, he and his elder brother had to travel to Goregaon, where their father worked as a cashier, to spend their summer holidays. They got off the train and waited for a long time at the station, but Ramji did not arrive to meet them. The station master seemed kind, and asked them who they were and where they were going. The boys were very well-dressed, clean, and polite. Bhim, without thinking, told him they were Mahars (a group classed as 'untouchables'). The station master was stunned—his face changed its kindly expression and he went away.

> **Belonging to KabirPanth, Ramji Sakpal encouraged his children to read the Hindu classics, especially the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. He used his position in the army to lobby for his children to study at the government school, as they faced resistance owing to their caste.**

Bhim decided to hire a bullock-cart to take them to their father—this was before motor cars were used as taxis—but the cart-men had heard that the boys were 'untouchables', and wanted nothing to do with them.

Finally, they had to agree to pay double the usual cost of the journey, plus they had to drive the cart themselves, while the driver walked beside it. He was afraid of being polluted by the boys, because they were 'untouchables'. However, the extra money persuaded him that he could have his cart 'purified' later! Throughout the journey, Bhim thought constantly about what had happened—yet he could not understand the reason for it. He and his brother were clean and neatly dressed. Yet they were supposed to pollute and make unclean everything they touched and all that touched them. How could that be possible?

Bhim never forgot this incident. As he grew up, such senseless insults made him realise that what Hindu society called 'untouchability' was stupid, cruel, and unreasonable. His sister had to cut his hair at home because the village barbers were afraid of being polluted by an 'untouchable'. If he asked her why they were 'untouchables', she could only answer—that is the way it has always been." Bhim could not be satisfied with this answer. He knew that—it has always been that way" does not mean that there is a just reason for it—or that it had to stay that way forever. It could be changed.

An Outstanding Scholar

While in school, Bhim's teacher Ambedkar, entered his last name into the school records as Ambedkar. Teacher Ambedkar and Pendse, were the only ones in the entire school who were kind and affectionate to young him. They made the few fond memories Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had of his school days. At this time in his young life, with his mother dead, and father working away from the village where Bhim went to school, he had some good fortune. His teacher, though from a 'high' caste, liked him a lot. He praised Bhim's good work and encouraged him, seeing what a bright pupil he was. He even invited Bhim to eat lunch with him—something that would have horrified most high caste Hindus. The teacher also changed Bhim's last name to Ambedkar—his own name.

When his father decided to remarry, Bhim was very upset— he still missed his mother so much. Wanting to run away to Bombay, he tried to steal his aunt's purse. When at last he managed to get hold of it, he found only one very small coin. Bhim felt so ashamed. He put the coin back and made a vow to himself to study very hard and to become independent.

Soon he was winning the highest praise and admiration from all his teachers. They urged Ramji to get the best education for his son Bhim. So Ramji moved with his family to

Courtesy: Vipinji, Azadpur, Delhi-110033

Bombay. They all had to live in just one room, in an area where the poorest of the poor lived, but Bhim was able to go to Elphinstone High School—one of the best schools in all of India. In their one room everyone and everything was crowed together and the streets outside were very noisy. Bhim went to sleep when he got home from school. Then his father would wake him up at two o'clock in the morning! Everything was quiet then—so he could do his homework and study in peace. In the big city, where life was more modern than in the villages, Bhim found that he was still called an 'untouchable' and treated as if something made him different and bad—even at his famous school.

One day, the teacher called him up to the blackboard to do a sum. All the other boys jumped up and made a big fuss. Their lunch boxes were stacked behind the blackboard—they believed that Bhim would pollute the food! When he wanted to learn Sanskrit, the language of the Hindu holy scriptures, he was told that it was forbidden for 'untouchables' to do so. He had to study Persian instead—but he taught himself Sanskrit later in life.

Matriculation and Marriage

In due course, Bhim passed his Matriculation Exam. He had already come to the attention of some people interested in improving society. So when he passed the exam, a meeting was arranged to congratulate him—he was the first 'untouchable' from his community to pass it.

Bhim was then 17 years old. Early marriage was common in those days, so he was married to Ramabai the same year. He continued to study hard and passed the next Intermediate examination with distinction. However, Ramji found himself unable to keep paying the school fees. Through someone interested in his progress, Bhim was recommended to the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda. The Maharaja granted him a monthly scholarship. With the help of this, Bhimrao ('rao' is added to names in Maharashtra as a sign of respect) passed his B.A. in 1912. Then he was given a job in the civil service—but only two weeks after starting, he had to rush home to Bombay. Ramji was very ill, and died soon afterwards. He had done all he could for his son, laying the foundations for Bhimrao's later achievements.

Studies in the USA and the UK

The Maharaja of Baroda had a scheme to send a few outstanding scholars abroad for further studies. Of course, Bhimrao was selected—but he had to sign an agreement to serve Baroda state for ten years on finishing his studies. In 1913, he went to the USA where he studied at the world-famous Columbia University, New York. The freedom and equality he experienced in America made a very strong impression on Bhimrao. It was so refreshing for him to be able to live a normal life, free from the caste prejudice of India. He could do anything he pleased—but devoted his time to studying. He studied eighteen hours a day. Visits to bookshops were his favourite entertainment!

His main subjects were Economics and Sociology. In just two years he had been awarded an M.A.—the following year he completed his Ph.D. thesis. Then he left Columbia and went to England, where he joined the London School of Economics. However, he had to leave London before completing his course because the scholarship granted by the State of Baroda expired. Bhimrao had to wait three years before he could return to London to complete his studies.

The British Museum in London has a very good library. It used to open at eight in the morning, and every day Ambedkar would be there by eight. He read till five o'clock. In London he came to know a student called Asnodkar. He belonged to a rich family. He was not interested in study. Ambedkar said to him, "Your people may have made plenty of money. But think, you have born a man, what are you going to achieve? The Goddess of Learning will not come to you whenever you want. We must get her blessings when she comes." In 1922 Ambedkar became a barrister and the nest year he came back to India.

Return to India–Nightmare in Baroda

So he was called back to India to take up a post in Baroda as agreed. He was given an excellent job in the Baroda Civil Service. Bhimrao now held a doctorate, and was being trained for a top job. Yet, he again ran into the worst features of the Hindu caste system. This was all the more painful, because for the past four years he had been abroad, living free from the label of 'untouchable.'

No one at the office where he worked would hand over files and papers to him—the servant threw them onto his desk. Nor would they give him water to drink. No respect was given to him, merely because of his caste. He had to go from hotel to hotel looking for a room, but none of them would take him in. At last he had found a place to live in a Parsi guest house, but only because he had finally decided to keep his caste secret. He lived there in very uncomfortable conditions, in a small bedroom with a tiny cold-water bathroom attached. He was totally alone there with no one to talk to. There were no electric lights or even oil lamps—so the place was completely dark at night. Bhimrao was hoping to find somewhere else to live through his civil service job, but before he could, one morning as he was leaving for work a gang of angry men carrying sticks arrived outside his room.

They accused him of polluting the hotel and told him to get out by evening—or else! What could he do? He could not stay with either of the two acquaintances he had in Baroda for the same reason— his low caste. Bhimrao felt totally miserable and rejected.

BOMBAY–Beginning of Social Life

He had no choice. After only eleven days in his new job, he had to return to Bombay. He tried to start a small business there, advising people about investments—but it too failed once customers learned of his caste. In 1918, he became a lecturer at Sydenham College in Bombay. There, his students recognised him as a brilliant teacher and scholar. At this time he also helped to found a Marathi newspaper 'MookNayak' (Leader of the Dumb) to champion the cause of the 'untouchables'. He also began to organise and attend conferences, knowing that he had to begin to proclaim and publicise the humiliations suffered by the Dalits— 'the oppressed'—and fight for equal rights. His own life had taught him the necessity of the struggle for emancipation.

Leader of Untouchables:

In 1920, with the help of friends, he was able to return to London to complete his studies in Economics at LSE. He also enrolled to study as a Barrister at Gray's Inn. In 1923, Bhimrao returned to India with a Doctorate in Economics from the LSE—he was perhaps the first Indian to have a Doctorate from this world-famous institution. He had also qualified as a Barrister-at-Law. Back in India, he knew that nothing had changed. His qualifications meant nothing as far as the practice of Untouchability was concerned— it was still an obstacle to his career. However, he had received the best education anyone in the world could get, and was well equipped to be a leader of the Dalit community. He could argue with and persuade the best minds of his time on equal terms. He was an expert on the law, and could give convincing evidence before British commissions as an eloquent and gifted speaker. Bhimrao dedicated the rest of his life to his task. He became known by his increasing number of followers—those 'untouchables' he urged to awake—as Babasaheb. Knowing the great value and importance of education, in 1924 he founded an association called Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha. This set up hostels, schools, and free libraries. To improve the lives of Dalits, education had to reach everyone. Opportunities had to be provided at grass roots level—because knowledge is power.

> At high school he had to sit in the corner of the room on a rough mat, away from the desks of the other pupils. At breaktime, he was not allowed to drink water using the cups his fellow school children used.

Leading Peaceful Agitation: In 1927 Babasaheb presided over a conference at Mahad in Kolaba District. There he said:—It is time we rooted out of our minds the ideas of high and low. We can attain self-elevation only if we learn self-help and regain our self-respect." Because of his experience of the humiliation and injustice of untouchability, he knew that justice would not be granted by others. Those who suffer injustice must secure justice for themselves. The Bombay Legislature had already passed a Bill allowing everyone to use public water tanks and wells. (We have seen how Bhim was denied water at school, in his office, and at other places. Public water facilities were always denied to 'untouchables' because of the superstitious fear of 'pollution.')

Mahad Municipality had thrown open the local water tank four years earlier, but so far not one 'untouchable' had dared to drink or draw water from it. Babasaheb led a procession from the Conference on a peaceful demonstration to the Chowdar Tank. He knelt and drank water from it. After he set this example, thousands of others felt courageous enough to follow him. They drank water from the tank and made history. For many hundreds of years, 'untouchables' had been forbidden to drink public water.

When some caste Hindus saw them drinking water, they believed the tank had been polluted and violently attacked the Conference, but Babasaheb insisted violence would not help— he had given his word that they would agitate peacefully. Babasaheb started a Marathi journal Bahishkrit Bharat ('The Excluded of India'). In it, he urged his people to hold a satyagraha (nonviolent agitation) to secure the right of entry to the Kala Ram Temple at Nasik, 'untouchables' had always been forbidden to enter Hindu temples. The demonstration lasted for a month. Then they were told they would be able to take part in the annual temple festival. However, at the festival they had stones thrown at them—and were not allowed to take part. Courageously, they resumed their peaceful agitation. The temple had to remain closed for about a year, as they blocked its entrance.

Round Table Conferences—Gandhi:Meanwhile, the Indian Freedom Movement had gained momentum under

the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1930, a Round Table Conference was held by the British Government in London to decide the future of India. Babasaheb represented the 'untouchables'. He said there:—The Depressed Classes of India also join in the demand for replacing the British Government by a Government of the people and by the people... Our wrongs have remained as open sores and have not been righted although 150 years of British rule have rolled away. Of what good is such a Government to anybody?"

The British had done nothing to alleviate the status of the depressed classes. He declared that India must have a minimum of Dominion Status. He pressed for a separate electorate for the depressed classes.

Soon a second conference was held, which Mahatma Gandhi attended representing the Congress Party. Babasaheb met Gandhi in Bombay before they went to London. Gandhi told him that he had read what Babasaheb said at the first conference. Gandhi told Babasaheb he knew him to be a real Indian patriot. At the Second Conference, Babasaheb asked for a separate electorate for the Depressed Classes—Hinduism, "he said—has given us only insults, misery, and humiliation." A separate electorate would mean that the 'untouchables' would vote for their own candidates and be allotted their votes separate from the Hindu majority. Babasaheb was made a hero by thousands of his followers on his return from Bombay—even though he always said that people should not idolise him. News came that separate electorates had been granted. Gandhi felt that separate electorates would separate the Harijans from the Hindus. The thought that the Hindus would be divided pained him grievously. He started a fast, saying that he would fast unto death.

The Mahatma's Fast: Gandhiji felt that separate electrorates would only separate the Harijans from the Hindus. The very thought that the Hindu would be divided pained him much. He started a fast against separate electorates. He said he would fast unto death in necessary. There was anxiety in the country because of Gandhiji's fast. Many Congress leaders went to Ambedkar to save Gandhiji. "Muslims, Christians and Sikhs have obtained the right of separate electorates. Gandhiji did not fast to oppose them. Why should Gandhiji fast to oppose Harijans getting separate electorates?" questioned Ambedkar. "If you are unwilling to give the 'untouchables' separate electorates, what other solution is there? It is essential to save Gandhiji. But just to save him I am not prepared to give up the interests of the backward classes," he declared. He said, reserve a larger number of seats for the untouchables' than the British have given; then I will give up the claim for separate electorates."

Only Babasaheb could save Gandhi's life—by withdrawing the demand for separate electorates. At first he refused, saying it was his duty to do the best he could for his people—no matter what. Later he visited Gandhi, who was at that time in Yeravda jail. Gandhi persuaded Babasaheb that Hinduism would change and leave its bad practices behind. Finally Babasaheb agreed to sign the Poona Pact with Gandhi in 1932. Instead of separate electorates, more representation was to be given to the Depressed Classes. However, it later became obvious that this did not amount to anything concrete.

In the Prime of His Life:Babasaheb had by this time collected a library of over 50,000 books, and had a house named Rajgriha built at Dadar in north Bombay to hold it. In 1935 his beloved wife Ramabai died. The same year he was made Principal of the Government Law College, Bombay. Also in 1935 a conference of Dalits was held at Yeola. Babasaheb told the conference:—We have not been able to secure the barest of human rights... I am born a Hindu. I couldn't help it, but I solemnly assure you that I will not die a Hindu." This was the first time that Babasaheb stressed the importance of conversion from Hinduism for his people—for they were only known as 'untouchables' within the fold of Hinduism. During the Second World War, Babasaheb was appointed Labour Minister by the Viceroy. Yet he never lost contact with his roots—he never became corrupt or crooked. He said that he had been born of the poor and had lived the life of the poor, he would remain absolutely unchanged in his attitudes to his friends and to the rest of the world. The All-India Scheduled Castes Federation was formed in 1942 to gather all 'untouchables' into a united political party.

Architect of the Constitution: After the war Babasaheb was elected to the Constituent Assembly to decide the way that India— a country of millions of people—should be ruled. How should elections take place? What are the rights of the people? How are laws to be made? Such important matters had to be decided and laws had to be made. The Constitution answers all such questions and lays down rules. When India became independent in August 1947, BabasahebAmbedkar became First Law Minister of Independent India. The Constituent Assembly made him chairman of the committee appointed to draft the constitution for the world's largest democracy. All his study of law, economics, and politics made him the best qualified person for this task. A study of the Constitutions of many countries, a deep knowledge of law, a knowledge of the history of India and of Indian Society—all these were essential. In fact, he carried the whole burden alone. He alone could complete this huge task.

On July 15, 1947, the British Parliament passed the act of Indian Independence and on August 15, 1947, India became free. The Constituent Assemble of Independent India

appointed a Drafting Committee with Dr. Ambedkar as its Chairman to draft the Constitution of India. Dr. Ambedkar was also invited to join the Cabinet as the Minister of Law. Ambedkar toiled over the Constitution while he took care of his ministry. In February 1948, Dr. Ambedkar presented the Draft Constitution before the people of India. After completing the Draft Constitution, Babasaheb fell ill. At a nursing home in Bombay he met Dr. ShardaKabir and married her in April 1948. On November 4, 1948 he presented the Draft Constitution to the Constituent Assembly, and on November 26, 1949 it was adopted in the name of the people of India. On that date he said: I appeal to all Indians to be a nation by discarding castes, which have brought separation in social life and created jealousy and hatred."

Later Life—Buddhist Conversion: In 1950, he went to a Buddhist conference in Sri Lanka. On his return he spoke in Bombay at the Buddhist Temple. In order to end their hardships, people should embrace Buddhism. I am going to devote the rest of my life to the revival and spread of Buddhism in India."

Why did he choose Buddhism?:Ambedkar told his friend DattopantThengadi: "I am in the evening of my life. There is an onslaught of ideas on our people from different countries from the four corners of the world. In this flood our people may be confused. There are strong attempts to separate the people struggling hard, from the main life-stream of this country and to attract them towards other countries. This tendency is fast growing. Even some of my colleagues who are disgusted with 'untouchability', poverty and inequality are ready to be washed away by this flood. What about the others? They should not move away from the main stream of the nation's life; and I must show them the way. At the same time, we have to make some changes in the economic and political life. That is way I have decided to follow Buddhism." There is a way of life which has come down as a steady stream in India for thousand of years. Buddhism is not opposed to it. The backward people must rebel against the injustice done to them; they must wipe it out. But 'untouchability' is a problem of the Hindu Society. To solve this, a path which does not harm the culture and the history of Bharat must be followed. This is the basis of his resolution.

His main subjects were Economics and Sociology. In just two years he had been awarded an M.A.–the following year he completed his Ph.D. thesis. Then he left Columbia and went to England, where he joined the London School of Economics.

He did not believe in the theory that Aryans came from a different land and that they defeated the Dasyus' (the Dravidians) of this country. There is no foundation for this in the Vedas. The word 'Arya' appears some 33 or 34 times in the Vedas. The word has been used as an adjective meaning 'the noble' or 'the elder'. It is said in the Mahabharata that 'Dasyus' can be found in all 'varnas' (castes) and 'ashramas' (stage of life). In this way Ambedkar used to support this view. On 14th October 1956 at a big function in Nagpur, Ambedkar, with his wife, embraced Buddhism. In May 1956, on Buddha's Anniversary, Dr. Ambedkar announced that on October 14 he would embrace Buddhism. With him his wife and some three lakh followers also converted to the faith. When asked why, Dr. Ambedkar replied, "Why can't you ask this question to yourself and... your forefathers...?"

For the next five years Babasaheb carried on a relentless fight against social evils and superstitions. On October 14, 1956 at Nagpur he embraced Buddhism. He led a huge gathering in a ceremony converting over half a million people to Buddhism. He knew that Buddhism was a true part of Indian history and that to revive it was to continue India's best tradition. 'Untouchability' is a product only of Hinduism.

Bhim was an average student. He became fond of gardening and, whenever he could, he bought saplings and with great devotion nurtured them to full growth. While studying in Satara, many of his classmates left for good jobs in Bombay. He too wanted to go to Bombay and get a job and become independent. He realized that if he ever were to be successful, he would have to concentrate more on his studies. He became interested in reading. He read not just the prescribed books in school but any book in general. His father was too pleased when he digressed from school books but he never said "no" when Bhim wanted a book.

A Legacy Marking Indian Sociopolitical History: Ambedkar's legacy, as a sociopolitical reformer, has been long-lasting on modern India. In post independence India his sociopolitical thought has acquired respect across political spectrum and influenced various spheres of life like socioeconomic, education and Government policies of affirmative action by socioeconomic and legal incentives.

Ambedkar organized untouchable political parties and social organizations, and served in the legislative councils of British India. He would intensify his criticism of orthodox Hindu society, as well as his criticism of slavery and exclu-

sivism in Islam. Despite this, his reputation as a scholar led to his appointment as free India's first law minister, and chairman of the committee responsible to draft a constitution. Ambedkar's work would guarantee political, economic and social freedoms for untouchables and other ethnic, social and religious communities of India. His polemical condemnation of Hinduism and attacks on Islam would make him unpopular and controversial, although his conversion to Buddhism sparked a revival in interest of Buddhist philosophy in India. In 1926, he became a nominated member of the Bombay Legislative Council. By 1927 Dr. Ambedkar decided to launch active movements against untouchability. He did begin with public movements and marches to open up & share public drinking water resources to which until then untouchable communities had no access; also he put up a struggle for entry in Hindu Temples which was not allowed by upper caste communities.

During the Second World War, Babasaheb was appointed Labour Minister by the Viceroy. Yet he never lost contact with his roots—he never became corrupt or crooked.

Poona Pact:Ambedkar had become one of the most prominent untouchable political figures of the time. He had grown increasingly critical of mainstream Indian political parties for their perceived lack of emphasis for the elimination of the caste system. Ambedkar criticized the Indian National Congress and its leader Mahatma Gandhi, whom he accused of reducing the untouchable community to a figure of pathos. Ambedkar was also dissatisfied with the failures of British rule, and advocated a political identity for untouchables separate from both the Congress and the British. At a Depressed Classes Conference on August 8, 1930 Ambedkar outlined his political vision: "...Safety of the Depressed Classes hinged on their being independent of the Government and the Congress" both: "We must shape our course ourselves and by ourselves... Political power cannot be a panacea for the ills of the Depressed Classes. Their salvation lies in their social elevation. They must cleanse their evil habits. They must improve their bad ways of living.... They must be educated.... There is a great necessity to disturb their pathetic contentment and to instill into them that divine discontent which is the spring of all elevation."

Born in a class considered low and outcast. Dr. Ambedkar fought untiringly for the downtrodden. The boy who suffered bitter humiliation became the first Minister for Law in free India, and shaped the country's Constitution. A determined fighter, a deep scholar, human to the tips of his fingers.

We Need Dharma—But Casteism Should Go: 'Undouchablity' is a branch of casteism; until casteism is wiped out 'untouchability' will not go – this was Ambedkar's firm belief. He argued that to wipe out casteism, political power was very necessary. He believed that Dharma was essential for men. But he revolted against those who, in the name of Dharma, treated some of their fellowmen like animals. Many people criticised him. Some newspapers also wrote against him. There were many occasions when his life was in danger. Also, Ambedkar knew from his own experience that even a bright man could not come up in life vacuse of casteism. People give his cast importance and make him powerless. Ambedkar fought casteism. He was disgusted to find how difficult it was to secure justice and to find how many men were still narrow minded. He even said that it would be better to give up the Hindu Dharma itself.

Muslim and Christian priest and missionaries learnt about this declaration; they tried very hard to attract Ambedkar. They met and assured him that the 'untouchables' who changed their religion would be given equal status in their society.

(Courtesy: ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, Vol. 9, Edited by M.K. Singh, Anmol, 2009)

Body of Dr BR Ambedkar at his residence, 26 Alpore Road, Delhi on December 6, 1956

Life in Chronology

14-4-1891	Born at Mahu (Madhya Pradesh)
1912 Nov	B.A Examination
1913	Passed B.A Examination
2-2-1913	Death of father Subhedar Ramji Maloji Ambedkar
20-7-1913	Went to New York for Higher Studies
2-6-1915	M.A.
1916	Ph.D Degree.
Nov 1916	Admitted to Gray's Inn For Law
10-11-1918	Appointed as professor of in the Sydenham College, Bombay
27-1-1919	Gave evidence before the Southborough Commission on Franchise
31-1-1920	Started a Marathi Weekly paper Mooknayak
March 1920	Attended depressed classes Conference In Mangaon, Kohlapur
5-7-1920	Resigned professorship at Sydenham College to resume his studies in London.
Jun 1921	The thesis 'Provincial Decentralisation of Imperial Finance in British India' was accepted for M.Sc. (Eco) Degree by the London University
Oct 1922	The Thesis 'The Problem of the Rupee – Its origin and its solution' was accepted for the degree of D.Sc. (Eco)
4-8-1923	Free entrance for untouchables-C.K Bole's Proposal
Nov 1923	Appointed as DSC in London University
15-6-1924	Rajratan's Birth
19-7-1924	Rajaratan's Death
20-7-1924	Founded the 'Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha' for the uplift of the depressed classes
5-8-1926	CK Bole's proposal on banning the annual amount given to the states because of not implementing the proposal of free movement of untouchables in public areas
19, 20-3-1927	Started Satyagraha at Mahad (Dist Kolaba) to secure to the untouchables the Right of access to the Chavdar Tank.
3-4-1927	Started a fortnightly Marathi paper Bahiskrit Bharat
Jun 1928	Professor. Government Law College Bombay Principal. Government Law College Bombay
8-4-1928	Established 'Samaj Samata Sangh'.
25-5-1928	Supporter Shri. B Tilak's Suicide
3-8-1928	Member. Bombay Presidency Committee of the Simon Committee.
23-10-1928	Oral Witness before Simon Comission
7-12-1928	Death of Lala Lajpat Rai and Article in 'Bahiskrit Bharat'
17-5-1929	Submitted the report before Simon Commission
1929	Strike of workers in Mumbai, Transfer to Panhala from March to June
11-9-1930	Appointed as representative of untouchables for Round Table Council for its 1st conference
4-10-1930	Visit to England for Round table conference
20-11-1930	Presented the issues of untouchables in the conference

19-4-1931	Fight of All India Council for Leaders of Untouchables at Parel Village School, Bombay
	Invitation for 2nd Round Table Conference
July 1931	Dr Ambedkar founded 'People's Education Society' in Bombay.
July 1931	Meeting with Gandhiji at Mani Bhawan
14-8-1931	Left from Bombay for 2nd Round Table Conference
15-8-1931	Speech of Gandhiji in 2nd conference
15-9-1931	Gandhiji said 'I was unsuccessful in uniting minorities'
8-10-1931	Return to Bombay after visiting England-America and launch of journal by 14
29-1-1932	institutions
	Signed Raja-Munje Agreement in Delhi
6-3-1932	Immediate hidden departure to England due to Raja- Munjhe Agreement
26-5-1932	In the chairmanship of Raja, meeting of untouchables in Bhagwandi, Bombay
10-7-1932	Decision was taken on castes by McDonald
10-8-1932	Hunger strike by Gandhi in against of the decision
20-9-1932	Pune Agreement
24-9-1932	Gandhiji's hunger strike ends and Government approved Pune Agreement
27-9-1932	Ramabai died
27-5-1935	Accepted the post of Principal at Government University in Bombay
2-6-1935	Chairmanship of Kshetriya Dalit Parishad
13-10-1935	Presence of Ambedkar and Solanki in Sikh bhajan
12-1-1936	Release of letter by Swatantra Mazdoor Dal
15-8-1936	Verdict of Mahad case
17-3-1937	Congress made council of ministers
19-7-1937	Chairmanship of Pandharpur District Untouchables' Council
Dec 1937	Speech in Shetkari Parishad, Mahad
19-1-1938	Strike by Swatanta Mazdoor Dal and Girni Kamgar Union
7-11-1938	Leadership of Aurangabad Dalit Jila Parishad
Dec 1938	Speech in Shetkari Council, Mahad
Jan 1939	Message of struggle and selfdependency in untouchables meet at Rajkot
18-4-1939	Meeting of Governor General with Dr Ambedkar to discuss war situations
Oct 1939	Governor General assured Dr Ambedkar that no changes will be made in the
8-8-1940	Constitution without discussing them with untouchables
	Publication of 'Pakistan' book
Dec 1940	Elected into the council of ministers for Governor General
9-7-1942	Establishment of Shetkari Kamgar Federation
17, 20-7-1942	Speech in Joint Labour Conference
7-8-1942	Congress announced Bharat Chhodo Andolan
8-8-1942	On the occasion of Ranade Jayanti, speech on 'Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah' in Pune
18-1-1943	Visit to Coal Mines of Dhanbad
9-12-1943	Journal by Madras Mahapalika
22-9-1944	Special invitation to Dr Ambedkar for the meeting of Federation in the chair
23-9-1944	manship of RBN Shivraj

24-9-1944	Speech on 'Rationalism in India' on behalf of Madras Rational Society and in another meeting for agenda in Park Town, Madras
Jan 1945	Kolkata visit
6-5-1945	Speech in Schedule Caste Federation
July 1945	Book Published
20-6-1946	Siddharth College started
25-6-1946	welcoming and speech at Bombay Centeral Station, Untouchables should ??
28-6-1946	Second world war ended
5-11-1946	Presented his report before Parliament's important members
9-12-1946	Making of Constitution started
17-12-1946	Dr Ambedkar's First speech in the Constituent Assembly.
20-1-1947	Pt. Nehru's proposal of basic rights passed
24-1-1947	Establishment of Advisory committee in the presidency of Sardar Patel, Ambekar was one of the member.
11-4-1947	Hindu Code Bill presented in the planning committee.
July 1947	Appointed in Constituent Committee as Congress's Supporter
30-1-1948	Mahatma Gandhi's Murder
15-4-1948	Second marriage – Dr Ambedkar married Dr ShardaKabir in Delhi.
25-11-1949	Constitution Committee's last election
14-12-1950	Detailed discussion on Hindu Code Bill
25-9-1951	4th Article on Hindu Code bill passed
January 1952	Loksabha election Defeat
March 1952	Selected for Rajya Sabha elections
1-6-1952	Dr Ambedkar left for New York from Bombay.
5-6-1952	Columbia University (USA) conferred the honorary Degree of LL.D.
2-9-1953	Speech on Andhra Bill
April 1954	Contested by-elections for Lok Sabha
3-10-1954	Dr Ambedkar broadcast his talk "My Personal Philosophy"
29-10-1954:	S.C. Federation presented a purse of Rs one lakh eighty thousand on behalf of S.C.F. to Dr Ambedkar at Purandare Stadium, Naigaum (Bombay)
Dec 1954	Dr Ambedkar participated as delegate to the 3rd World Buddhist Conference at Rangoon.
1-5-1956	Speech on recreating state in Rajya Sabha
May 1956	Dr Ambedkar spoke on BBC London on "Why I like Buddhism"
24-5-1956	Dr Ambedkar attended a meeting at Nare Park organised on the eve of Buddha Jayanti,
14-10-1956	Dr Ambedkar embraced Buddhism
15-10-1956:	Delegate, 4th World Buddhist Conference, Kathmandu, delivered speech on 'Buddha or Karl Marx'.
6-12-1956:	Maha Nirvana, New Delhi. 7-12-1956: Cremation in Bombay.
1957:	'The buddh and his dhamma' was published.

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OPV Zero dose	At birth or as early as possible within the first 15 days
OPV 1, 2 & 3	At 6 weeks, 10 weeks & 14 weeks
DPT 1, 2 & 3	
Hepatitis B 1, 2 & 3	
HIB containing Pentavalent 1, 2 & 3**	
Measles 1st dose	9 completed months-12 months. (give up to 5 years if not received at 9-12 months age)
JE 1 st dose***	9 completed months
Vitamin A (1 st dose)	9 complete months
DPT 1 st booster	16-24 months
OPV Booster	16-24 months
Measles 2nd dose	16-24 months
JE 2nd dose	16-24 months with DPT/OPV booster

Schedule for pregnant women

VACCINE	WHEN TO GIVE
TT-1	Early in pregnancy
TT-2	4 weeks after TT-1*
TT-Booster	If received 2 TT doses in a pregnancy within the last 3 years

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